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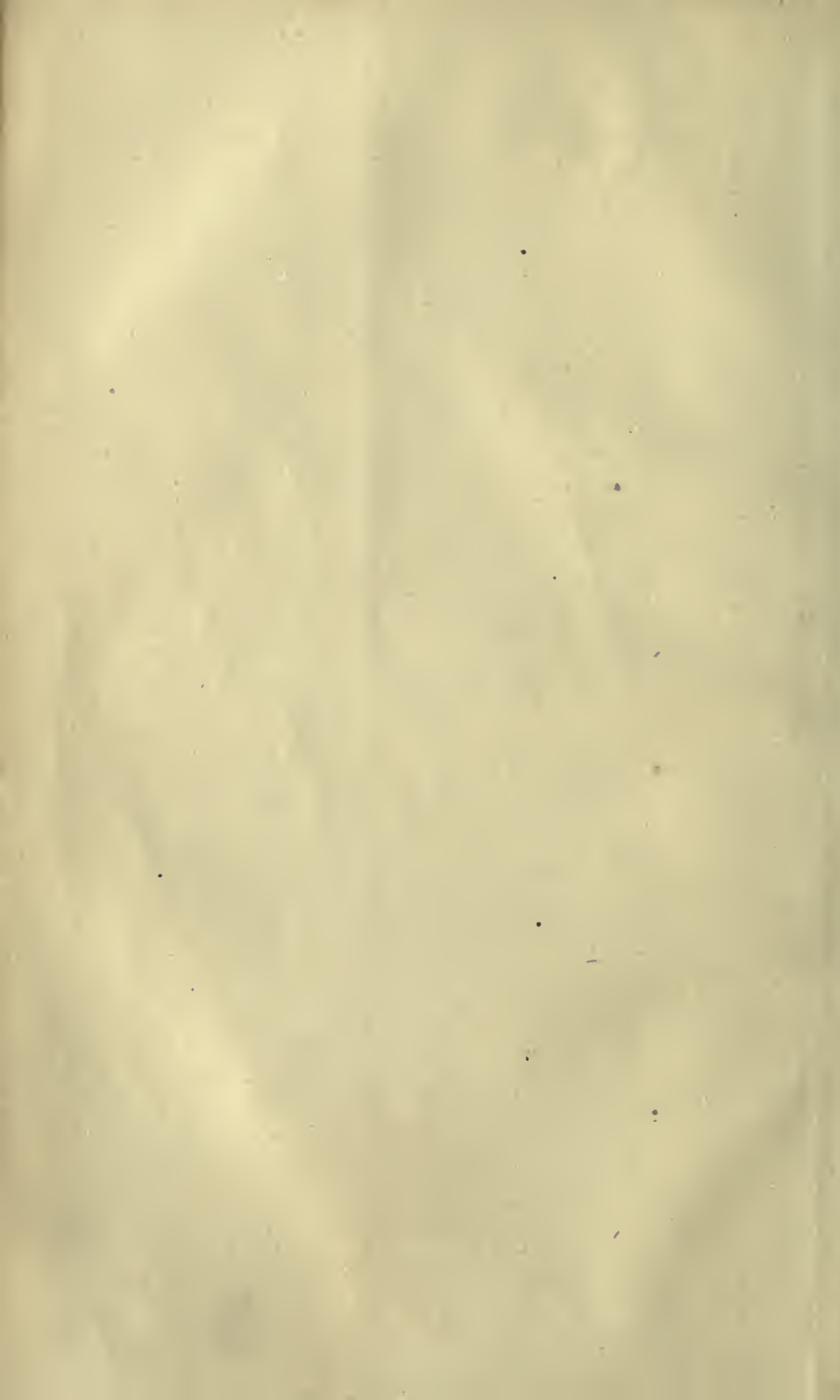




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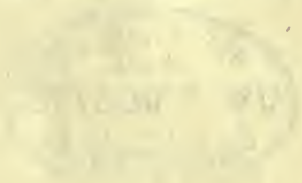
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THE profound researches of Niebuhr, in his History of Rome, have traced out the course which has been mainly followed in the early part of this history. But it has not been purposed to represent all the views and opinions of Niebuhr. His authorities have been consulted, his arguments weighed, and in every case an independent judgment has been exercised. It is right to mention, that, where the passages cited by Niebuhr have been accessible, the references have been made immediately to the original authors; and the number of references thus borrowed is very great. Where his citations have not been verified, the reader has been referred to his own work. The references are made to the translation of the Second Edition of Vol. I. by Messrs. Hare and Thirlwall, Cambridge, 1828.

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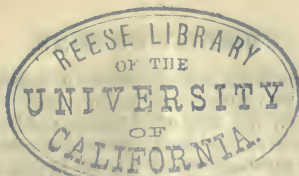
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# HISTORY OF ROME.

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§ 1. THE history which is commonly related as the history of the early ages of Rome, is not to be received as a true narrative of facts. It is made up chiefly of popular stories, poetic in their nature and spirit. With these are intermingled some scanty but precious memorials of the primitive constitution and laws; superstitious and ceremonial traditions, preserved by the Pontiffs and Augurs; family legends, invented or exaggerated to gratify the pride of ancestry in noble houses; tales, fabricated or borrowed by the earlier annalists, to fill the gaps in the poetic story; interpretations, by which later writers thought to extract truth from the marvels of the old fables; and the ornaments of a rich imagination, which poets and historians of a better genius threw around the venerable antiquities of their country: and, finally, the whole is laid out according to the limits of an arbitrary chronology. Yet this history must not

be rejected in silence. No doubt, much that is true is involved in it, though we cannot now distinguish certainly the true from the false. If we were to begin our researches only at the time when the history becomes comparatively certain, we must pass over nearly two-thirds of the period assigned to the duration of the Roman State before the commencement of its second monarchy; and we should find ourselves engaged with a people whose character would be strange to us, and surrounded with institutions, the spirit of which we could not understand, because we should know nothing of their origin. If we begin at the beginning, though we set out in ignorance, we shall gradually advance through doubts and conjectures to probable opinions and certain knowledge. If we cannot ourselves attain to a well-informed belief respecting the birth and growth of Rome, it is good at least to know what the Romans themselves believed. Their popular legends will give us an insight into the mind of the ages in which they were conceived and fashioned; and faith in them must have tended greatly to form the character of the ages which followed. The national traditions, therefore, shall be related: those records of the ancient laws and constitution, which seem to contain any historical truth, shall be carefully noticed; and the old stories shall be presented with their genuine poetic features, and separated, so far as they can be discerned, from the more recent accompaniments enumerated above.

§ 2. It was believed that, before the final ruin of Troy, Æneas quitted the city in the darkness of night,\* with his son Iulus, and his aged father Anchises; and under the guidance of the gods, in a single vessel, with a little band of followers, sought a new home and better fates in the unknown regions of the West. After many wanderings he reached the shores of Latium, on the

\* Nævius in Niebuhr, p. 162. For Trojan War, see Hist. Greece, ch. ii.



west of Italy; and two fountains gushed from the sandy beach to refresh the weary mariners.\* Latinus, the king of the country, assigned lands to the hundred Trojans who had survived their perils;† and in memory of their country they gave the name of Troy to the little fort and the rude dwellings which they raised on the spot where they first landed.‡ The strangers plundered the fields; Latinus, and Turnus, chief of the Rutuli of Ardea, resisted them, and were defeated: Laurentum, the citadel of Latinus, was forced; Latinus slain; and his kingdom, and his daughter Lavinia, became the prizes of the conqueror.§ Æneas, now the sovereign of the Latins, left his little settlement on the barren shore; and, according to a divine admonition, was guided by a pregnant sow to the destined site of his new city. There Lavinium was built. The little Troy had stood three years: a litter of thirty young, farrowed by the ominous sow, prefigured the number of years during which Lavinium should remain the head of the united people of Trojans and Latins; and then the empire was to be transferred to Alba, which should be supreme three hundred years, before it gave birth to Rome, the city to which no end was predetermimed.|| Nor did the founding of Lavinium want forebodings of the power which was to grow from it. A fire was kindled spontaneously in a neighbouring thicket: a wolf fed the flame: an eagle fanned it; and they drove away a fox, who sought to quench it. Ancient brazen figures of these animals were long preserved in the market place of Lavinium.¶ The city was scarcely built, when Æneas was called to renew the war with Turnus, who had fled for help to Mezentius, King of Cære, a city of Etruria. A battle was fought on the banks of the river Numicius: Turnus was slain: but the Latins were defeated; and Æneas was never seen more. In after ages he was worshipped among the native guardian gods of the country, under the title of Jupiter Indiges.\*\* A shrine was raised to him on the banks of the Numicius, where the Latins

offered a yearly sacrifice; and the solemnity was long preserved by the Consuls and Pontiffs of Rome.\* Iulus repulsed Mezentius from Lavinium, and reigned in peace and prosperity over a growing people. When the thirty years were ended, he founded a new city on a loftier and more inland site. It was named Alba Longa, and was stretched out beneath the ridge of a mountain, along the precipitous edge of a lake, which itself stands high above the surrounding plains. But the Penates, or peculiar gods, of the Trojans refused to quit their old abodes; and when they had been conveyed to Alba, and the doors of the temple closed upon them, they were found the next morning restored to their place in the temple at Lavinium.† In consequence of this portent a chosen colony returned to guard their sacred rites; and many ages afterwards the inhabitants of Lavinium told the inquiring stranger, that certain holy relics of the Trojans were preserved in the shrines of their temples.‡ Alba was strong by situation, and became so powerful, and so confessedly the chief city of the Latin name, that the thirty towns, of which the confederacy of the Old Latins was composed, were believed to have been her colonies.§ Iulus was succeeded by Silvius, the son of Æneas and Lavinia, the genuine heir of the old Latinus.|| From him were descended a race of kings, who bore his name, and of whom the last were the brothers Numitor and Amulius.

§ 3. Amulius, the younger brother, put down the elder, Numitor, from the kingdom, but suffered him to live in possession of his father's private wealth. Fearful, however, lest the heirs of Numitor might not bear his usurpation as tamely, he caused his son to be murdered; and he endeavoured to make sure that no avenger should be born from his daughter Silvia, by devoting her to virginity as a priestess of the goddess Vesta. It fell out, after a time, that Silvia went into a grove sacred to Mars, the god of war, to fetch pure water from a spring for holy rites. A wolf met her, and she fled into a cave for safety:¶ there, under the cover of a storm and preternatural darkness,\*\*

\* Dion. i. 55.

† Cato in Servius on *Æn.* xi. 316, and Nieb., p. 163.

‡ Cato, Dion. i. 53. Liv. i. 1. Servius on *Æn.* i. 3; vii. 153.

§ Cato in Servius on *Æn.* i. 267; iv. 620; ix. 745.

|| Virg. *Æn.* i. 261—279. ¶ Dion. i. 59.

\*\* Liv. i. 2.

\* Schol. Veron. on *Æn.* i. 260, (Niebuhr.)

† Dion. i. 67. ‡ Timæus in Dion. i. 67.

§ Dion. iii. 31, see ch. iii. || Dion. i. 70.

¶ Serv. on *Æn.* i. 274.

\*\* Dion. i. 77; ii. 56. Plut. Rom.



while the sun laboured with a total eclipse, Mars himself forced her; and sought to comfort her with the assurance that she was wedded to a god, and the promise that she should be the mother of sons mighty in war. When her time was fulfilled, Silvia bore twin sons; Amulius doomed the guilty Vestal to be cast into the Anio; the babes to be exposed upon the Tiber, where its banks were least frequented by men, and so left to perish. His vengeance and his counsel failed. Silvia became the wife of the river-god.\* The Tiber had overflowed its banks even to the foot of the Palatine, one of the adjacent hills on the left bank of the river. The servants of the king, who were ordered to expose the children, placed them in a wooden trough on the shallow waters, far from the rapid stream. As the waters sank, the trough was left, and it was overturned on the root of a wild fig-tree, which under the name of the Ruminal Fig-tree was held sacred many ages after. A she-wolf, who had come down from the hills to slake her thirst, was guided to the spot by the wailing of the infants, and suffered them to draw the milk from her swollen teats, and licked off the mud with which they were besmeared. Then she bore them to her den in a shady thicket at the foot of the Palatine, hard by a spring that gushed from the rock; and there, when they grew older, a woodpecker, a bird sacred to Mars, brought them morsels of food.† At last the frequent return of the she-wolf to her cave was noticed by the shepherds,‡ and they followed her, and discovered her marvellous brood. Faustulus, the king's shepherd, took the children to his own home, and gave them to be nourished by his wife Acca Larentia. They were named Romulus and Remus, and nurtured in brotherhood with the twelve sons of their foster parents.§ They grew up among the folds; but they were not like to the children of herdmen. Their beauty, stature, strength, and courage, were such as became their origin, at once kingly and divine.|| Their boldness in

the chase, and in attacks upon the robbers, by whom those wild regions were infested, made them the acknowledged leaders of the little band of comrades, among whom they dwelt in huts of reed on the Palatine hill. A quarrel arose between them and the herdmen of Numitor, who folded their cattle on the neighbouring hill, the Aventine; and outrages were done on both sides. At a time when Romulus had gone to offer sacrifices at Cænina, a town beyond the Anio, Remus was seized, and led away to Numitor. His age and aspect made Numitor think of his grandsons; his suspicions were confirmed by the tale of the marvellous nurture of the twin brothers; and when Romulus came up with a troop of followers to rescue Remus, they were owned and embraced by their mother's father. Stirred up by so strange a chance, and the fresh feeling of ancient wrongs, they suddenly turned their force against the tyrant. Alba was surprised; Amulius slain, and the kingdom restored to Numitor.

§ 4. Then the princes went forth to build a city in their old abodes. The shepherds made them chiefs with equal sovereignty;\* but a strife arose between them where their city should be built, who should be its founder, and after whose name it should be called. It was agreed that they should abide by auguries, or signs taken from the flight of birds, which would make known the judgment of the gods. Romulus chose his temple, or holy place for taking the auguries, on the top of the Palatine hill; and the *lituus*, or crooked staff, with which he marked out the quarters of the heavens, was long preserved as the most sacred ensign of the augurs in the chapel of the Salian Priests upon the Palatine, and even after the city was burned by the Gauls was found unhurt amid the ashes.† Remus placed himself on the Aventine. They sat, with their heads covered, and their faces towards the east. It was evening: the sun went down; and all night their companions waited in doubt and fear.‡ At day-break Remus saw six vultures; a solitary bird, but in the most auspicious

\* Horat. Od. I. ii. 17—20, and Schol. Vet. Serv. on Æn. i. 274.

† Ov. Fast. iii. 54. Plut. Rom.

‡ Justin, in Nieb. p. 185.

§ Masurius Sabinus in Aul. Gell. vi. 7.

|| This, and most of the other circumstances of this story, are taken from the narrative of Q. Fabius Pictor, the oldest of the Roman historians, the substance of which is preserved by Dionysius, and which was founded on the national songs.—See Dion. i. 79.

\* Cassius Hemina, called by Pliny "Vestustissimus auctor annalium," (in Frotscher's *Veterum Historicorum Fragmenta*, appended to an edition of Sallust, Lipsiæ, 1825, p. 450). At the end of the fragment is a mention of the portent of the sow with her thirty young, which he must have referred to this time.

† Cic. de Div. i. 17.

‡ Ennius in Cic. de Div. i. 48.

cious quarter, appeared to Romulus; and when the sun was now rising, twelve vultures flew by him, and confirmed the augury in his favour. Remus murmured; but Romulus was judged to have prevailed: and he proceeded to trace the boundaries of the new city, round the foot of his chosen hill, the Palatine. He yoked a bull and a heifer to a plough with a brazen ploughshare, and drew a deep furrow; and men followed after, who turned every clod to the inward side. He thus inclosed a square space. Where the wall was to be built, the furrow was drawn: where the gates were to be raised, the plough was lifted up and carried over: for the track of the plough was holy; but if the gates had been holy, it would not have been lawful for things needful but unclean to pass through them.\* The day of the Foundation of Rome was a yearly festival, as long as the old religion of Rome endured. It was the eleventh day before the calends of May, or the 21st of April. It was a day well fitted for the foundation of a city of shepherds; for it was the festival of Pales, the goddess of shepherds, to whom they prayed for the safety and increase of their flocks, and for pardon of whatever trespass they or their cattle might have done against the many deities of the woods and fountains.† When the wall was now building, Remus, in scorn, leaped over it; and Romulus smote him in wrath, and slew him; and said, "So die whosoever hereafter shall overleap my walls:" and it remained a custom in the Roman camps, that whosoever left them, save by the appointed gates, was put to death.‡ For this murder Romulus gave himself up to remorse, and a pestilence came upon the city, until a festival was ordained to appease the shade of Remus;§ and afterward, when the king administered justice, an empty throne was set by his side with a sceptre and crown, that his brother might seem to reign with him.|| The city had a district attached to it; but how far on each side the territory of Romulus extended, tradition has left untold. A religious ceremony preserved a memorial of its limits. Romulus made his twelve foster brothers, the sons

of Acca Larentia, a sacred college of Priests, under the title of *Frates Arvales*, Brothers of the Corn-fields. Their duty was to offer sacrifice for the fruitfulness of the lands: their ensign was a chaplet of ears of corn.\* Their priesthood was handed down to posterity: and in the reign of Tiberius, the *Frates Arvales* celebrated the festival of the *Ambarvalia*, or Going the Round of the Fields, at Festi, between the fifth and sixth milestones on the side of Alba, as if that had been the boundary of the Roman land.† That the city might not want inhabitants, Romulus welcomed all strangers who were willing to cast in their lot with his new people; and even declared a grove on the slope of the opposite hill (the Capitoline), an Asylum, or sanctuary and place of refuge for men forced to flee for bloodshed, and even for runaway slaves. Of the people thus gathered together those who could show a noble or free ancestry were called *Patricians*, and to them alone belonged a share in the government of the State. Of the *Patricians* a hundred chief men made a council, called the Senate, and they themselves were called *Senators* and *Fathers*. There were ten of these of higher rank than the rest:‡ and to one, the chief of all, was entrusted the care of the city, whenever the king should be absent in war. Denter Romulus is the name given by tradition to the first who bore this office.§ The rest of the people were subject to the king and the *Patricians*; and each man with his household was attached to the head of some *Patrician* family, whom he was bound to serve, and from whom he looked for help in all his need. The correlative names of the protector and dependent were *Patron* and *Client*.

The city was filled with men, but they were mostly strangers and outlaws, and made a mixed people, not bound by kindred to any people near them. They wanted women, and Romulus sent ambassadors to the neighbouring tribes to make treaties, without which it was not lawful for one people to marry with another. The tribes to whom he sent scornfully refused such fellowship, and he set his mind to force from them that

\* Dion. i. 88. Plut. Rom. See also Tacit. Ann. xii. 24.

† Ov. Fast. iv. 721, &c.

‡ Zon. Ann. vii. 3. Pomponius J. C.

§ Ov. Fast. v. 451, &c. the Lemuria.

|| Serv. on Æn. i. 276.

\* Masurius Sabinus, in Aul. Gell. vi. 7. Pliny xvii. 2. Part of their ancient sacred song has been discovered, and is given by Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, cap. viii., sez. 1.

† Strabo, v. 3, 2.

‡ Decem Primi. See Niebuhr, p. 292, and Dion. ii. 12.

§ Tacit. Ann. vi. 11.



sufferance of equal rights which he could not gain by entreaty. In the fourth month\* from the foundation of the city, he proclaimed games in honour of the god Consus, and he called his neighbours together to the festival. Many, not only of the Latins, but of the Sabines, the natives of the more rugged inland country beyond the river Anio, came with their wives and children. In the midst of the religious ceremonies, when all eyes were fixed upon the holy show, the Roman youth, at a signal from their king, rushed upon their guests, and bore away by force the marriageable maidens. Thirty† Sabine virgins were thus carried off, and became the wives of their ravishers. Their parents fled, and prepared to avenge the wrong. Three of the Latin towns on the Anio, Cænina, Antemnæ, and Crustumium, one after the other, made war upon the Romans, and were overpowered by them. Romulus slew with his own hand Acron, the king of Cænina, and spoiled him of his armour. He entered the city, followed by his rejoicing soldiers; and this procession, rude as it was, was the first pattern of the splendid triumphs with which the Romans in after ages solemnized their conquests. The king himself bore aloft the spoils of the slain, and hung them upon an oak held sacred by his fellow shepherds. Thus under the name of *Spolia Opima*, or *Rich Spoils*, he dedicated them to Jupiter Feretrius, the Bearer of Spoils; and marked out a temple to the god: and he ordained, that, if in time to come a leader of the Romans should slay and despoil a leader of their enemies, he should dedicate his spoils in this temple, to this god, under this title. So was the first temple consecrated at Rome, and twice only after the offering of its founder were such spoils laid up in it. To each of the conquered towns were sent three hundred Roman colonists, to whom was assigned the third part of the lands: those of the people who were willing to remove to Rome were admitted as free citizens of the Roman State.‡

In the mean time the Sabines had gathered themselves together, under the command of Titus Tatius, king of the Quirites, the people of the Sabine town of Cures, and advanced into the Roman

lands with so strong an army, that the Romans were forced to shut themselves within their walls. Beyond the boundaries of the city itself, the top of the Saturnian hill, which was afterwards called the Capitoline, strong as it naturally was by the steepness of its rocky sides, was still further defended by a ditch and mound on the accessible part, so as to be made a place of safety for the flocks and goods of the country people.\* To this stronghold many had betaken themselves, when the Sabines overran the fields. Tarpeia, the daughter of the commander of the fortress, went without the wall to draw water. She was seized by Tatius and his Sabines. Dazzled by their ornaments of gold, she covenanted for the bracelets which they wore on their left arms to open to them a gate by night. She fulfilled her treason; but when she claimed her reward, Tatius first, and then the other Sabines, hurled on her their shields, and she was crushed beneath the load. She was buried where she fell, and for many ages yearly libations were poured upon her tomb.† The precipitous side of the hill, down which traitors in after times were thrown headlong, bore the ominous name of the Tarpeian rock. On the following day the Romans attempted to recover the strong hold. The Sabines came down to meet them into the swampy valley between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, which was afterwards the Roman Forum, or public place. Romulus was aided by a Tuscan Lucumo, or chieftain, with his followers. Hostus Hostilius also among the Romans, and Mettus Curtius among the Sabines, were heroes upon whose exploits the old legend delighted to dwell. The battle was long and doubtful. At one time Romulus himself was struck down by a stone thrown from the height of the Capitoline hill. At another time, when the Romans were driven along before their enemies, in the middle of the plain, he vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, the Stayer of Flight; and fresh courage was forthwith kindled in their breasts. More than one day passed in such fruitless struggles. At last, when both armies were resting from their warfare, the thirty‡ Sabine women, for whose sake the war was waged, no longer Sabine maidens but

\* Plut. Rom. from Fabius. See Niebuhr, note 580, p. 192.

† Plut. Rom. See Niebuhr, p. 192.

‡ Dion. ii. 35, 36.

\* Dion. ii. 37.

† Dion. ii. 40, from L. Piso.

‡ Serv. on Æn. viii. 638.

Roman wives, with Hersilia, the wife of Romulus,\* at their head, went out to their own people, to entreat for peace between their fathers and their husbands.† Their prayer was heard; and not only peace was made, but the two nations were joined together into one people. The Sabines founded a new town on the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, on the north-west and north of the Palatine. Romulus and Tatius became the joint and equal kings of the double state; and their people, Romans as well as Sabines, took the common name of Quirites. The senate was doubled by the addition of a hundred Sabines; but these were not, in the beginning, intermixed with the senators of Romulus: each king first took counsel with his own senate, and then the two met together in one body.‡ Their place of meeting was a temple of Vulcan, a little above the Forum, in the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline hills. Their citizens were distributed into three tribes,§ to which were given the names Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres. The Ramnes were supposed to have their name from Romulus, the Titienses from Tatius, the Luceres from the Lucumo,|| the Tuscan ally of Romulus, who was slain in the battle; for Lucumo, though plainly a title, yet, being a word of a foreign language, was often taken by the Romans for a proper name. Each tribe was divided into ten Curiae, and to these thirty Curiae names were given in honour of the thirty Sabine women who had brought about the peace.¶ For them also it was demanded, and for their sake the privilege was extended to all matrons, that they should be exempt for ever from all household service and labour, except spinning and weaving.\*\* These employments were long the glory of industrious Roman wives. In memory of the forcible manner in which the Sabine maidens were carried off, it remained one of the ceremonies of marriage, that the bride was lifted

over the threshold of her husband. The temples also, and religious rites of the two nations, were made common. The Sabines worshipped the gods of Latium, Picus, and Faunus, and the deity of the Tiber: the Romans venerated the heavenly bodies and the elemental powers, which were the objects of Sabine adoration,\* the sun and moon, light, Vulcan the god of fire, Ops or mother earth, and Saturn, to whom the Capitoline hill had been consecrated of old.† The Consualia continued to be celebrated; and, in after ages, games in the Circus recalled the memory of the show from which the Sabine virgins had been carried off:‡ and on the first day of March, the first day of the ancient year, the festival of the Matronalia, held by the women in honour of Mars, preserved the tradition of the peace which the prayers of the matrons had wrought between the contending armies.§

The only war which Romulus and Tatius are related to have undertaken together was against the Latin town of Cameria, which was taken, and made a Roman colony, and the people admitted into the Roman state, as those of Cænina, Antemna and Crustumium, had been before. But the double kingdom did not last long. Kinsmen of Tatius had done outrage to some envoys from Laurentum, and Tatius refused satisfaction for the crime. Soon after, when he was offering sacrifice with Romulus to the Penates at Lavinium, he was attacked and slain. He was religiously buried on the Aventine hill;|| but Romulus neglected to pursue the murderers; and a plague of sudden death, and barrenness, and blight came upon the people, and cattle, and lands of Rome and Laurentum; nor did it cease till the murderers on both sides were delivered up.

The single rule of Romulus made him yet more beloved by his two-fold people.¶ He is said to have carried war against Fidenæ, a Tuscan settlement on the south of the Tiber, and beyond the Anio, and to have placed there a Roman colony. This war led to another with Veii, a near and powerful city of Etruria, in which he was again victorious.

\* Liv. i. 11. In a fragment of the Annals of Cneius Gellius is given a part of the speech of Hersilia to Tatius, containing an address to Neria the wife of Mars, taken perhaps from an old poem: "Neria, wife of Mars, I beseech thee to grant peace, that we may enjoy a happy marriage each with her own husband; since by the counsel of thy husband it came to pass that they carried us off maidens, to raise up children for themselves and for their country."—Aul. Gell. xiii. 22.

† Cic. R. P. ii. 7. Dion. ii. 45.

‡ Zon. vii. 4.

§ Liv. x. 6.

|| Cic. R. P. ii. 8. Propert. i. 1. 29.

¶ Liv. i. 13. Cic. R. P. ii. 8.

\*\* Plut. Rom. Zon. vii. 4.

\* August. de Civ. Del. iv. 23. Varro, L.L. v. 10. Dion. ii. 1.

† Cic. R. P. ii. 7. August. de Civ. Del. ii. 17.

‡ Ov. Fast. iii. 170, &c., and 231.

|| Varr. iv. 62.

¶ Cic. R. P. ii. 8, 9.



The Veientes were stripped of a part of their territory, and a truce for a hundred years was granted to them. Romulus had now seen his city grow up from weakness to strength, and the time of his kingdom upon earth was fulfilled. He had assembled his people in warlike array on a plain called the Goat's Marsh, when suddenly the sun was eclipsed, and the sky was darkened with clouds and storm. The crowd were scattered, and fled; and, when they returned, Romulus had disappeared. They mourned for him with pious sorrow, and called upon him "as their father, the offspring of the gods, the guardian of his country, who had led them forth into light:"\* and it was believed that he was borne away to heaven in the chariot of his divine parent. This belief became a religious faith, when their lost king appeared in more than mortal majesty to Proculus Julius, and bade him tell the Romans that they should become the lords of the world, and that he himself would be their guardian god Quirinus. Under this title he was worshipped. The festival of the Quirinalia was held in his honour in February; but the nones of Quintilis, the seventh of July, was marked by tradition as the day of his disappearance.

To Romulus the popular belief of the Romans ascribed the origin of their principal institutions, social, civil, and military. The establishment of the senate, and the division of the people into tribes and curiæ, have already been mentioned. The senate was the perpetual council of the state; but there was also a national assembly, in which the people was called together in curiæ, and the votes of the greater number of curiæ determined a matter. Romulus was the author of the relation and obligations of patron and client. Parental authority he sanctioned in its highest degree, so that he made the father the absolute master of the liberty and life of his son. Only a thrice repeated sale could deliver the son from this subjection. He not only gave dignity to marriage as a civil state, but consecrated it as a religious institution. Those who were once united by the solemn rite of confarreation, or breaking of bread together, no civil power could put asunder: the wife became a sharer in the fortunes, and privileges, and religious ceremonies of her husband, and was to him in the

place of a daughter. But if he should attempt to sell her as a child, he was devoted to the infernal gods. He could sit in judgment upon her only for grievous offences—for adultery, for poisoning, for drinking wine, for counterfeiting his keys; and the presence and consent of his kinsmen was necessary for her condemnation: but then to her, as to his children, he was a judge without appeal. Agriculture and war were the only employments which Romulus allowed to his free citizens. His legion, which at first included the whole population fit to bear arms, consisted of three thousand foot soldiers and three hundred horsemen.\* Those whose rank and wealth gave them the right and power to fight on horseback about the person of the king, were called *Celeres*; and from them grew the body called in aftertimes *Equites*, horsemen or knights. They seem to have been taken a hundred from each tribe, and their centuries bore the same names as the tribes.† But the institutions for which Romulus was most revered in later times, were those of augury or the auspices (bird-spying). He had founded the city by auspices, and by auspices he willed that it should be guided for ever. The augurs were appointed to observe the flight of birds, and other signs of the divine will. Nothing in peace or war was undertaken without their sanction. The senate could not be holden except in a place consecrated by auspices. The assembly of the people could not meet, nor any law be passed, nor any magistrate elected, unless the auspices were favourable. Thus the Romans believed that, whatsoever they did, they did under the especial guidance and favour of the gods. Faith in auspices endured for many ages, and the forms and ceremonies remained long after their spirit was passed away.

§ 5. Rome was now without a king; and till a king should be chosen, the senate took upon itself the government of the state. According to the most probable tradition, it seems that the senate was divided into decuriæ, or bodies of ten, in each of which was a senator of higher rank than the rest: that each decuria in turn held the supreme power for five days; but that its chief alone bore the ensigns of empire. This magistrate was called an

\* Dion. ii. 16. Plut. Rom.

† Compare Dion. ii. 13 and 16, and Livy i. 13, and x. 6.

Interrex, or Between-King. A contest regarding the choice of a king arose between the primitive Romans and the Sabine tribe, who had joined themselves to them, and who had remained without a king of their own nation since the death of Tatius. At length it was agreed that one tribe should choose a king out of the other; and the Romans chose a Sabine, Numa Pompilius.\*

§ 6. Numa was a citizen of Cures, of noble birth, to whom Tatius had given his daughter in marriage;† known for his piety and the holiness of his life: and when he was proposed by the Interrex, in the name of the senate, to the people assembled in their curiæ, all acknowledged the wisdom of the choice. Ambassadors were sent to fetch him to Rome; and when he was come, he first went up with an augur to the citadel, and solemnly consulted the auspices, whether the gods would suffer him to be king of Rome; and then procured the confirmation of his election, by himself presenting to the assembled curiæ a law which invested him with all kingly powers, and especially with military command.‡

The first care of Numa was to apportion to the new people, who had become free men of the Roman state, the public territory which had been gained by conquest.§ He caused the extent of all the lands of all the citizens to be strictly determined; and assured the inviolability of property by consecrating the stones which marked them out to Terminus, the god of boundaries.|| Who-soever should dare to remove these holy landmarks, was pronounced guilty of sacrilege, and devoted to the vengeance of the god. For many ages the Roman husbandmen offered to these divine emblems a bloodless offering of the fruits of the field; and it was only in later times that lambs or swine were sacrificed upon them.¶ The solemn festival of the Terminalia was celebrated on the twenty-third day of February, which was anciently accounted the last day of the year:\*\* and thus the old landmarks were ascertained, before the tiller of the ground began his toils for the coming season. With the boundaries of private property the boundaries of the state were also fixed;†† nor did they

advance or recede during the just and peaceful reign of Numa. The same spirit, which breathes in this reverence for property, was also manifested in the dedication of a temple to Faith:\* and the Romans, with pious and reverential gratitude, ascribed to the institutions and example of Numa that national character of probity and truth, which was their most honourable distinction. He sought to bring the manners of his warlike and violent people under the government of law: and for this purpose, unlike most of the lawgivers of old times, he did not try to fashion their daily and household life by the laws of the state; but gained the mastery over their minds by accustoming them to the discharge of religious duties, and the acknowledgment of religious sanctions. Romulus had given his people their civil constitution: Numa regulated their religious worship. He prescribed with exact minuteness all its forms and ceremonies. The rites which he ordained were such that they might be performed with little cost, but the right observance of them required a careful attention and laborious diligence.‡ They were rites for a people possessing little wealth, whose minds were to be turned aside from violence and plunder, and subjected to the authority of the ministers of religion. He discriminated the orders of the priesthood, and their offices. To the four Pontiffs, and their chief, the Great Pontiff (Pontifex Maximus), he gave the supreme authority in matters of religion.§ It was their duty to take care for the right performance of all sacred ceremonies, whether public or private; to preserve the purity of the national worship, and to instruct the people in all its rites and necessary observances. He appointed the Flamens, or priests, of the three great gods of the nation, Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus. He provided for the more solemn worship of the goddess Vesta, and consecrated to her service four virgin priestesses,§ whose especial duty it was to keep up the everlasting fire in her temple. To this service they were devoted for thirty years; and the popular superstition reported, that even those who after this period availed themselves of their licence, and quitted the

\* Dion. ii. 57 & 58. Plut. Num.

† Plat. Num.

‡ Cic. R. P. ii. 13.

§ Cic. R. P. ii. 14. Dion. ii. 62.

¶ Dion. ii. 74.

\*\* See page 57.

¶ Ov. Fast. ii. 655.

†† Dion. ii. 74.

\* Dion. ii. 75.

‡ Cic. R. P. ii. 14. Legg. ii. 8, 10.

§ Liv. i. 20. x. 6. Cic. R. P. ii. 14. See Nieb. p. 258, note 722.

§ Dion. ii. 67.



temple of the goddess to unite themselves in marriage, made an ill-fated choice, and suffered under evident tokens of divine displeasure. The Vestal who broke her vow of chastity was carried through the city on a covered bier, as if in funeral procession,\* and was walled up alive in a cell beneath a mound of earth, a little within the Colline gate, which was the gate at the foot of the Quirinal Hill. Such a crime was deemed a prodigy of most evil import to the state; and the day of punishment was a day of universal and great mourning. Singular privileges and honours were accorded to the Vestals. They were freed from the power of their fathers: their testimony was believed without an oath; and if they met a criminal, as he was led to execution, he was immediately reprieved. To Numa is ascribed also the institution of the Salii, or Dancing Priests of Mars Gradivus. These were twelve youths of the noblest birth and the most beautiful form; and on the first day of March they went through the city accoutred in the ancient military garb, celebrating their god with armed dances and with traditionary songs. It is said, that during a pestilence a shield of a strange form fell from heaven into the hands of Numa. This, under the name of Ancile, was committed to the care of the Salii; and others like to it were made, and borne by them in their sacred processions. After this reception of the prodigy the plague ceased. Numa added two to the Augurs appointed by Romulus;† or, according to some accounts, first instituted the College of Augurs;‡ and instructed them especially in the observation of the Greater Auspices,§ which were drawn from lightning and other signs in the heavens. He is said even to have known arts by which such omens might be drawn from the unwilling gods; and to have dedicated an altar to Jupiter Elicius on Mount Aventine, where he practised this bold divination. By such institutions and such employments Numa turned away the minds of his people from war; and the old story told, how the gate of Janus, which stood midway between the Palatine and Quirinal towns, and which, according to ancient custom, was open in time of war and shut in peace, remained closed throughout the whole of his long reign.

Even the neighbouring states, which had dreaded the restless violence of Romulus, now deemed it impious to trouble a city which was entirely given up to the worship of the gods. It was not without divine inspiration and assistance, that Numa gave his people his religious laws. He was beloved by the Camena, or nymph, Egeria; and in a hallowed grove, where perpetual springs flowed from natural grottos,\* he met her in the silence and loneliness of night. There, by her, and by her sacred sisters, he was taught the lessons of piety and wisdom, and instructed in the worship of the gods. Once, to confirm the faith of his citizens, the goddess deigned to give a visible token of her presence with their inspired lawgiver. While he was entertaining guests, their plain food in earthenware was changed into a rich feast in golden vessels.† Revered and beloved by gods and men, Numa fell asleep in the fulness of age. It was the old tradition, that he was born on the day on which Rome was founded.‡ If he were the last survivor of all who had seen the origin of the city, then, according to the belief of Etruscan superstition, the first Age, or Sæculum, of the city ended with his life.§

§ 7. An Interregnum followed the death of Numa. Upon the proposal of the Interrex, the people in the meeting of the Curiae (Comitia Curiata) elected as their king Tullus Hostilius, the grandson of Hostus Hostilius who had fought with Romulus against the Sabines: and he, as Numa had done before, when the auspices had sanctioned his election, himself submitted to the Curiae the law which endowed him with the usual powers of the kingly office.|| The temper of this king was very different from that of his predecessor; and he rather sought to rival the military glory of Romulus. It chanced that Roman peasants had plundered the Alban lands, Albans the Roman. Both people sent ambassadors at the same time to demand redress. Tullus wished, not that redress should be granted, but that the guilt of a refusal should rest with the Albans, in order that he might begin a war without breaking the law of nations, which was a part of the religion of the early Italian tribes. He therefore

\* Juv. Sat. iii.

† Plut. Num.

‡ Plut. Num., Dion. Cass. Fragm.

§ See Niebuhr, p. 204—209, and below, note p. 55.

Cic. R. P. ii. 17.

\* Dion. ii. 67.

† Cic. R. P. ii. 14.

‡ Liv. iv. 4.

§ Cic. R. P. i. 6.

charged his messengers to do their office without delay. They made their demand; and when they had received no satisfaction within the stated period of thirty days,\* they declared war. The Alban ambassadors were less intent upon their business, and wasted their time in partaking of the banquets of the king, before they made known the purpose of their coming. At last, when they delivered their message, they were answered, that the Romans had already sought redress in vain, and that the Albans must look only for the war which they had brought upon themselves.

The Albans drew near to the Roman territory with a great army under their king, Cluilius, and pitched their camp five miles from the city. The memory of the very spot was preserved for ages; and a trench, of which traces could still be seen, bore the name of the Cluilian Ditch. Here Cluilius died; and the Albans elected Mettius Fufetius, their dictator, or commander, in his place. Mettius proposed, that the blood of the two nations should be spared, and that their strife should be determined by the combat of certain chosen champions. Tullus agreed to the proposal. It so fell out that in each army there were three brothers born at a birth; and moreover their mothers were sisters. Tradition remembered their names as the Horatii and Curiatii; but the stories were not all agreed to which people each belonged. The Horatii however were commonly believed to be Romans, the Curiatii Albans. These youths were matched to fight on behalf of the two nations; and it was agreed by treaty, that the people whose champions should overcome should rule over the other. They met between the two camps, on the very line that bounded the Roman and Alban territories,† and the two armies looked on. They saw two Romans fall, one after the other; and the three Albans, wounded indeed, but eager for victory, make up to the last Horatius. Unhurt as he was, he dared not to cope with three at once; and they beheld him turn his back and flee. His pursuers, wounded and weary, followed at unequal distances. Suddenly he faced about, and slew the strongest, as he came up; then the next; and then the hindmost and

weakest. The combatants were buried where they had fallen; and the mounds, which marked their graves, remained to a very late age: those of the two Roman brothers side by side nearer to Alba; those of the three Albans at a little distance one from the other in a line towards Rome. Before the two armies parted, Tullus, according to the terms of the treaty, commanded Mettius to hold the youth of his people under arms, that he might use their aid against the Veientes. The Romans returned in triumph. Horatius went first, bearing on high his threefold spoils. His sister met him at the Capene gate, the gate of the city towards Alba. She had been espoused to one of the Curiatii; and when she saw the bloody mantle of her betrothed, which she had woven with her own hands, she flung loose her hair, and burst out into wailing. Her brother in wrath pierced her with his sword, with the savage words, "So die whatsoever Roman woman shall weep for an enemy." For this murder he was tried by the Two Judges, and doomed, in the awful words of the old law, to be scourged with covered head, and hanged on an unhappy tree.\* He appealed to the people. His father bore witness, that his daughter was rightly slain; were it otherwise, he would have punished his guilty son by his own power: the people thought more of his victory than of his crime; and gave him his life. He underwent however the semblance of punishment. With his head covered, he was led by his father beneath a gibbet, which was repaired from age to age, and remained as a memorial to after times under the name of the Sister's Gibbet. Expiatory sacrifices were performed, which were handed down as hereditary rites to the Horatian family. A tomb was raised to Horatia where she fell.

The Albans were indignant at being made subject to the Romans, and sought to free themselves from their power. The people of Fidenæ, where a Roman colony had been settled, were wishing to revolt from Rome, and return to the protection of their Tuscan neighbours, the Veientes. Mettius Fufetius encouraged this spirit, and promised the Fidenates, if they should meet the Roman army in the field, that he would pass over to

\* Liv. i. 32.

† Dion. iii. 18, see above p. 8.

\* An unhappy tree (*arbor infelix*) was a tree which bore no fruit for the use of man. Superstition forbade making a fruitful tree an instrument of capital punishment.



them during the battle with the whole Alban force. Fidenæ revolted: Tullus summoned the Albans, and crossed the Anio: the Veientes crossed the Tiber. The two armies met: the Veientes were posted on the right of their line on the bank of the Tiber; the Fidenates on the left, towards the hills. Tullus stood over against the Veientes; Mettius over against the Fidenates. The traitor had not boldness even to fulfil his treachery. Instead of passing over to the enemy, he only withdrew his forces from the Roman line to higher ground upon the hills, and stood watching the issue of the battle. The Romans wondered, and were dismayed; and Tullus, in his extremity, vowed temples to Pallor and Pavor, paleness and fear. The Fidenates, at first, had taken courage from the movement of the Albans; but when they saw them keeping aloof upon the hills, instead of coming over to them or turning against the Romans, they began to doubt of their purpose, and to waver in their own attack. The Romans recovered their spirit, and drove back their enemies; and then, as the Fidenates fled along the Alban line, the twofold traitor, Mettius, for the sake of cloaking his treachery, fell upon them and put them utterly to the rout. Tullus turned against the Veientes, and pressed upon them till their flight was stopped by the river. Many were slain upon the bank; many drowned in trying to pass it. On that day Tullus pretended not to have seen the traitorous purpose of Mettius. On the next day he called his whole army to an assembly. The Albans were summoned first, and came unarmed: the Romans, as they had been ordered, ranged themselves round them armed. Then the king stood forth, and declared the treachery of the Alban dictator, and he gave commandment to his soldiers to seize him and to bind him to two chariots of four horses, that, as his mind had been divided between the Fidenates and the Romans, so his body might be rent in twain. The horses were driven opposite ways, and the traitor was thus torn in sunder. The rest of the Albans were let go unhurt. Vengeance, however, awaited their city. It was ordained that Alba should be laid waste, and the whole Alban people be removed to Rome. The victorious army took possession of the town. The citizens, with their wives and children, went forth to become dwellers in a strange land. The walls were thrown down, and every building belonging to man,

and only the temples of the gods were left standing amid the ruins.

According to tradition, the citizens of Alba did not merely become free citizens of Rome, as those of other conquered towns had become before them; but certain of their noblest families were placed in the rank of the patricians. Among these are recorded the Tullii, the Servilii, the Quinctii, the Geganii, the Clœlii, names afterwards most eminent in the Roman history. It is related also that from the new people ten troops were added to the knights, or those whose duty and honour it was to serve in the wars on horseback. The Cælian hill, on the south-east of the Palatine, is said to have been assigned for the dwelling of the Alban settlers.\* Tullus then turned himself to a war against the Sabines. He complained that Sabines had offered violence to Roman traders at the Temple of Feronia, a holy place at the foot of Mount Soracte, whither much people resorted, for the sake of a yearly festival, or to see the inspired votaries of the goddess walk barefoot over burning coals†. Redress was refused. The armies met at a place called the Wicked Wood, and their struggle for the mastery was long and fierce. Tullus vowed a yearly festival to the Sabine deities, Saturn and Ops; and to this vow were referred the Saturnalia and Opalia, which were celebrated by the Romans at the close of the year. He made a vow likewise to double the college of the Salii. The Romans thus encouraged became the conquerors. Tullus also made a truce with the Latins, who had begun to resist the encroachments of Rome after the destruction of Alba. It is said that he even made alliance with them; and that, when he followed up his quarrel with the Veientes by besieging their city, troops from the Latin town of Tusculum, and from Anagnia, the chief town of the neighbouring people the Hernici, encamped upon the Esquiline hill, to cover Rome on its most exposed side.‡

Of works of peace little is told of Tullus Hostilius, except that he enclosed the Comitium§ and built a Curia, places of meeting for the people and for the senate. The Senate-House bore his name nearly six hundred years. Towards the end of his reign the wrath

\* Liv. i. 33. † Dion. iii. 32. ‡ Dion. iii. 34.

† Strabo, v. 2, §.

‡ Niebuhr, p. 302, from a fragment of Varro.

§ Cic. B. P. ii. 17.

of the deserted gods of Alba was betokened by a shower of stones which fell upon the Alban Mount; and a supernatural voice was heard to issue from the consecrated summit of the hill. A plague fell upon the Roman people. The king himself sickened. Before this time he had been careless of the services of religion. Now he gave himself up to superstitious weakness and fear. The gods vouchsafed neither relief nor answer to prayer. He sought to use the divination of Numa by the rites of Jupiter Elicius; and drew down lightning upon himself, and was consumed with all his house.

§ 8. Upon the death of Tullus Hostilius, the supreme power, according to custom, returned to the senate. An Interrex held an assembly, in which Ancus Marcius, a son of the daughter of Numa Pompilius, was chosen king. Then Ancus Marcius, after the manner of the former kings, took the auspices, and brought before the assembled Curiae a law which bestowed upon him the kingly power.\* He laboured to restore the religious institutions of Numa, which had fallen into disuse; and he caused the pontiffs to write on tables all the ordinances regarding religious rites, and to set them up in public, that the people might learn them. He is reported also by tradition to have regulated the ceremonies of the Fœtal Law, or law of heralds, a law between nations concerning the making of peace and war. Undoubtedly such a law existed generally among the Italian tribes in the earliest ages of which we know anything. Cicero† has followed a story which ascribed the adoption of it at Rome to Tullus Hostilius, and certainly its ministers are named, and some of its ancient ceremonies are described, in the history of the treaty which he made with the Albans, when the sovereignty of the one nation over the other was to be determined by the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii. More general consent, however, attributes this institution to Ancus Marcius; and he is said moreover to have borrowed it from the Opican nation of the Æqui or Æquiculi.‡ Some of the forms of this law are embodied by Livy in his history; and they are worthy of notice as monuments of the manners and ways of thinking in early times and among a rude people. The guardianship and ministry of these rites was entrusted to

the college of Fœtiales (Heralds). They were twenty\* in number, and bore a sacred character. Of this body, four, it is said, were sent as ambassadors, when redress was to be sought for injuries;† two, when a treaty was to be made.‡ Their chief spokesman was called Pater Patratus. This messenger, when he crossed the boundaries of the people to whom he was sent, called the gods and the boundaries themselves to witness, that he was sent lawfully, and prayed, that, if his demand were unjust, he might never return to his country. This declaration he repeated to the first person whom he met, at the gates of the city, and in the public place to the magistrates. If redress were not granted within thirty, or three and thirty days, he called to witness Jupiter and Juno and Quirinus, and all the gods of heaven and earth, and under the earth, that the people to whom he was sent withheld what was just; and so he returned to Rome. Then the king consulted the senate or patricians (Patres); and if they advised war, it might now righteously be declared. Then the Herald returned to the borders of the enemy, and declared war, at the same time casting into their hands a spear§, or a ruder weapon of early times, a shaft of cornel wood with the end hardened in the fire. When a treaty was to be made, one Herald asked from the king the vervain, which was the token of peace.|| This was taken from the citadel with the earth about its roots. With this he touched the hair and head of his fellow, who was thus made the Pater Patratus, and empowered to swear on behalf of the people. They were met by a like messenger from the nation with which the treaty was to be made. Each bore in his hand a sceptre, which was the symbol of the presence of Jupiter.¶ After going through a solemn form of words, probably in rude verse, and reciting the terms of the treaty, he thus prayed: "And if the Roman people by public counsel shall first have failed with evil fraud in the keeping of these terms, do thou, O Jupiter, on that day so smite the Roman people, as I shall here this day smite this swine:" and when he had

\* Varro in Nieb. p. 259.

† Ib. and Liv. i. 32.

‡ Liv. ix. 5.

§ In later times, when Rome was engaged in wars with distant nations, the form of this ceremony was still retained; but the Fœtal cast his spear into a piece of land near the temple of Bellona (not far from the Circus); and this field was adorned with the fictitious title of the Ager Hostilis (the enemy's land). See Ov. Fast. vi. 205.

¶ Varro, frag.

¶ Serv. ad Æn. xii. 206.

\* Cic. R. P. II. 18.

† R. P. II. 17.

‡ See Outline of Gen. Hist., ch. ix. § 1.



thus spoken, he killed the swine by a blow with a flint stone.

The traditions respecting Ancus Marcius have very much less of a poetical character than those of the preceding and following kings. The facts which they relate are mostly historical; and some of them of very great importance. In the early part of his reign, the Latins were encouraged by his peaceful temper to make aggressions on the Romans. These Ancus resented with unexpected vigour; and became engaged in a war, by which, after a long and hard struggle, he established the superiority of the Romans. The town Politorium was taken and retaken, but remained at last with the Romans. He took also Tellenæ and Medullia, and other towns. He removed several thousand Latins to Rome, made them citizens, and settled them upon the Aventine Hill, on the south of the Palatine, and in the valley between them; and this new quarter of the city he defended by a trench, called the Ditch of the Quirites. On the opposite bank of the Tiber, he occupied and fortified the Janiculum, a rising ground; and joined it to the city by a wooden bridge, which lasted long under the name of the Pons Sublicius, or Bridge of Piles. His conquests over the Latins brought him into contact with the Volsci,\* and public relations were then first formed between them and the Roman people.† He was engaged in war with the Sabines also, and with the Veientes. From this latter people he gained an accession of territory on the sea-shore, valuable apparently for the timber it produced, and called the Mæsan Wood. This he made the property of the state.‡ He founded the colony of Ostia on the south side of the Tiber at its mouth, and made it the port of Rome: and added to its trade by forming salt-works in its neighbourhood. The old prison of Rome was his work, made out of a quarry on the Capitoline Hill. The lands which he had taken in war he divided to the citizens.§ He died in peace. His memory was popular; and he was mentioned with kindness in the old traditions as "the good Ancus."||

§ 9. In the reign of Ancus, a noble and wealthy Tuscan had settled in Rome. Lucumo (so the old stories named him) was the son of a Greek merchant, who

had made himself a home at Tarquinii, a city on the coast of Etruria, and married a Tuscan woman. He had inherited wealth from his father: he had married into a family of the highest rank; but the true-born Tuscans jealously shut out the son of the stranger from all power in the state. He was himself ambitious; and the pride of his wife Tanaquil could ill brook that her husband should stand in lower place than her kindred. Foregoing her country for his sake, she persuaded him to leave Tarquinii, and betake himself to Rome, where, as in a new state, a new citizen might attain to power and honour. He set out therefore with his household and a large train of followers. He rode in a chariot with his wife, and when they had reached the Janiculum, and were now in sight of Rome, an eagle, hovering over them, stooped and bore away his cap, and after carrying it to a great height, placed it again upon his head. Tanaquil, who was skilled in the Tuscan science of augury, joyfully embraced her husband, and bade him from this omen hope for the highest fortune. He was received as a citizen of Rome, and took a new name, after the Roman fashion, Lucius Tarquinius. The rights of citizenship were extended also to his followers.\* Tarquinius himself, by his genius and superior education, and by the liberal and dexterous use of his wealth, commended himself to king Ancus, and was greatly trusted by him; till at last, in course of time, he seemed almost his partner in the government of the kingdom. At the same time, by his courtesy and kindness, and his readiness to use his wealth and power for the service of all who needed his help, he secured the gratitude of many, and gained the good will and good report of all; nor were exploits in war wanting to his fame.† Thus upon the death of Ancus he was chosen king by the voice of the whole people; and then, according to custom, proposed and carried through the law which endowed him with kingly power.‡

The Latin States thought themselves no longer bound by the treaty which they had made with Ancus Marcius, and began to harass the Roman lands. Tarquinius led an army against them, took and destroyed Apiolæ, a wealthy town, and carried off a great booty. In the course of his wars with the Latin

\* Outline, Ch. ix. § 1.

† Dion. iii. 41.

‡ Cic. R. P. ii. 18.

§ Cic. *ib.*

|| Lucret. vi. 1038, from Ennius.

\* Dion. iii. 48.

† Dion. iii. 39, 40.

‡ Cic. R. P. ii. 20.



nation, he became master of the ancient city of Cameria and of Crustumrium, both, according to tradition, towns which had been taken by Romulus, and in which Roman settlers had been placed, but which were now again Latin. He once more took Medullia, which had been reduced by Ancus; and Ameriola, Ficulnea, Corniculum, and Nomentum. Passing beyond the bounds of Latium, he carried war against the fierce nation of the Æqui, and overcame them.\* But of all his wars the most famous is the war with the Sabines. The Sabines made common cause with the Latins, and while the Roman force was engaged elsewhere, they suddenly crossed the Anio, ravaged the fields up to the walls of Rome, and were hardly driven back after a doubtful battle. In another year they again passed the Anio, throwing a bridge of boats over the river a little above the point where it falls into the Tiber, and pitched their camp upon the nearer bank. Tarquinius led his army against them; the Sabines met him in the open field, and at the first shock forced the infantry in the centre of the Roman line to give ground, but the cavalry, closing upon them from the wings, not only checked them, but drove them back. Their alarm was heightened by their suddenly seeing their bridge blazing behind them. Tarquinius, from the higher part of the river, had sent boats and rafts filled with pitch and lighted faggots floating down the stream. The Sabines were thus thrown into confusion, and fled; the Roman horse pressed hard upon them: a few escaped to the mountains; the greater part were driven into the river, and perished in attempting to pass it. Their arms floating down the current of the Tiber made known the victory at Rome. Even the remnant who escaped the perilous ford were cut off by a force which Tarquinius had before sent across the Anio further up. The prisoners and the recovered plunder he sent away to Rome; the spoils of the enemy he had vowed to Vulcan, and so gathered them into a great heap, and burned them. He then crossed the river with his whole army, and entered the enemy's territory. The routed Sabines, as they had no time for better measures, met him with such troops as they could bring together, were again defeated, and so forced to sue for peace. They sur-

rendered to the Romans the town and territory of Collatia, on the South of the Anio, which, it seems, they had wrested from the Latins. Tarquinius placed there a strong garrison, and gave the whole as an appanage to Egerius Tarquinius, his brother's son, who, with his family, took thence the surname of Collatinus. In this war the king's son, a youth of fourteen, slew a foe with his own hand, and received as an honourable reward a robe bordered with purple, and a hollow ball of gold to be worn about the neck: and these remained, in after times, the dress and ornament of noble youths, till they took the manly gown. Also in this war Tarquinius vowed the building of the capitol, a temple of the threefold divinity of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

It was told likewise, though the tradition was not commonly received by Roman writers, how Tarquinius warred against the Tuscans; first against the people of Clusium, Arretium, Volaterra, Ruseilæ, and Vetulonia; then with the Veientes, with whom, like Romulus, he contested the possession of Fidenæ; and lastly with all their twelve cities: how he overcame them all; and received as tokens of their submission, the gift of a golden crown, an ivory throne and sceptre, a purple tunic and robe figured with gold, and twelve axes bound up in bundles of rods to be borne before him, such as the Tuscans used, when their twelve cities chose a common chief in war; and how by the permission of the senate and people he took to himself these badges of kingly power, which passed to the kings that came after him, and, saving the crown, to the consuls under the republic: but these last wore the embroidered robe only in the solemnity of a triumph.\*

Such were the exploits of Tarquinius in war. But his deeds of peace, the changes which he made in the constitution of the state, and his public works, are still more worthy of notice. As soon as he was made king, he added a hundred senators to the ancient senate. These new senators were called Fathers of the Lesser Houses (*Patres Minorum Gentium*); and the old senators, Fathers of the Greater Houses (*Majorum Gentium*).† He wished to add to the centuries of knights established by Romulus three new centuries, and to call them after his own name, and by

\* Cic. R. P. ii. 20; Strabo v. 3. 4.

\* Dion. iii. cc. 57, 59, 61.

† Liv. i. 35. Cic. M. P. ii. 20.

other new titles. In this purpose he was withstood by the augur Attus Navius, who affirmed that what had been ordained with augury could not be changed without augury. Marvellous legends were handed down by the ancient writers of the skill of Attus Navius in his art. When he was a boy, he fed his father's swine; and having lost one of his herd, he vowed to the gods, if he should find it again, the largest cluster in the vineyard. He found the swine, and in order to fulfil his vow, he placed himself in the middle of the vineyard with his face to the south, and with a lituus, or crooked staff, divided the vineyard into four parts: the birds gave signs against three of the parts; and in the fourth part, which remained, he found the object of his pious search, a cluster of wonderful size.\* The fame of his skill spread abroad; his neighbours consulted him, and at last he became an augur of great name at Rome. When he opposed himself to the purpose of Tarquinius, the king, in mockery of his art, asked him in the presence of the assembled people, whether what he was then thinking of could be done. The augur observed the birds, and answered that it could. Then the king said, "I was thinking whether you could cut this whetstone in sunder with a razor." Forthwith the augur took the whetstone, and cut it in sunder with the razor. The whetstone and razor were buried where the marvel took place, in the Comitium, or place of meeting of the Curiae, on the left of the Senate-House; and a sacred covering put over them; and afterwards a statue of Navius with the head veiled was placed by the same spot. The king was forced to yield to the augur, at least in part; and he did nothing more than add to each of the former centuries a second or latter century under the same name. He added two to the four Vestal Virgins; and it is said that under his reign a vestal first suffered the punishment assigned to the loss of chastity.† His public works bore lasting witness of his power and wealth. He built the vast sewers, vaulted with a threefold circle of blocks of hewn-stone,‡ by which the lower parts of the city, and the swamps between the hills, were drained into the Tiber; a work which still remains with not a stone displaced, amidst all the magnificence of the later ages of Rome, as much a wonder now

as in the days of Augustus.\* The quay by which the Tiber is banked, and through which the sewer opens into it, must plainly have been raised at the same time.† On the ground thus made solid he laid out the Circus Maximus, or Great Ring, for the display of what were called the Great or Roman Games, (Ludi Magni Romani, or Circenses,) in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, which from his time continued to be celebrated every year in September.‡ The ranges of seats were portioned into thirty parts, and each part given to a Curia;§ so that the senators and knights|| all beheld the games and spectacles from their own places. The booty of Apiolæ is said to have furnished the wealth for this building. The games exhibited were chariot-races and boxing: those who took part in them were hirelings from Etruria: the proud Romans were only spectators. The Forum also with its rows of shops was the work of Tarquinius: and he began to surround the city with a wall of massy hewn stones. He made preparations to fulfil his vow in building the Capitoline Temple. This vow, however, was at last accomplished by his son: and indeed, the traditions vary in assigning all these gigantic works, sometimes to the father, sometimes to the son. It may be observed here, that the father is distinguished from the son by the surname of Priscus, or the Elder.

Tarquin was treacherously slain in his old age by the contrivance of the sons of Ancus Marcius. Two country fellows, set on by them, feigned a quarrel, and came before the king, as if to have their strife righted; and while he was listening to the complaint of one, the other smote him with an axe, and both fled away.

§ 10. The Marcii however did not reap the fruit which they hoped from their crime. The kingdom passed not to them, but to a stranger, Servius Tullius. It is said, that his mother was a slave from Tarquinii; his father, a client of the king: the boy was brought up in the palace with the other household slaves, and waited at the royal board. Here his readiness in serving and quickness of mind in answering caught the notice of the king, and he was trained in more liberal nurture, and advanced to trust and honour.¶ But

\* Cic. de Div. i. 17.

† See p. 13.

‡ Niebuhr, p. 337.

\* Dion. l. 67. Liv. i. 56.

† Niebuhr, *ib.*

‡ Liv. i. 35. Cic. R. P. ii. 20, and Mai's note.

§ Dion. iii. 68.

|| Livy i. 25.

¶ Cic. R. P. ii. 21.



there was handed down also a legend more wondrous. His mother Ocrisia, a captive and a slave, was offering cakes to the Lar, or household god, and saw in the fire on the earth the apparition of the deity. Tanaquil interpreted the portent; and by her command Ocrisia arrayed herself as a bride, shut herself in the chamber, and became pregnant by the god.\* She died before her time; but the infant was taken from her womb,† and bred up by Tanaquil. Another prodigy marked the boy to be born to great things. He was sleeping at mid-day in the porch of the palace, and his head was seen to be surrounded with flames, which played about him without harming him, till he awoke, and then the fire vanished. Such were the marvels of his birth and early life; and the visible favour of the gods did not desert him at a later age. The Goddess of Fortune loved him, and visited him secretly;‡ and after his death his image was placed in her temple; and remained unhurt, when the temple itself was burned.§ This old image, made of wood and gilt, was an object of reverence even in the time of the emperors.|| Servius had been trusted by Tarquin, and placed in high rank, and had made himself eminent by his courage in battle. The king's sons were but young children. So when Tarquin had received his death blow, Tanaquil took speedy counsel with Servius; then opened a window, and told the people below, who were crowding round the palace, "that the king was not slain; that his wound would be healed in a few days, and that in the mean time he commanded Servius to discharge the duties of his kingly office." The people heard these tidings gladly; and Servius forthwith began to act as king. The murderers were seized and punished; and the Marcii fled. When the death of Tarquinius could be hidden no longer, Servius Tullius was already in possession of the kingly power. Without suffering the senate to name an Interrex, he offered himself to the people assembled in their Curia, and was endowed by them with all the powers of the former kings.

Servius was engaged in a war, first with the Veii, then with Cære and Tarquinii, and the other Etruscan states; in which he defeated the Etruscans,¶

and forced the Veientes to give up a portion of their territory.\*

But the great deeds of Servius were deeds of peace. His triumphs were registered in the Fasti;† whether truly or falsely mattered not: but the memory of his righteous works was long a living principle in the hearts of the grateful commonalty (Plebs), to whom he gave a being in the state, and for whose welfare he laboured even to the cost of his own life. The full explanation of the constitution which he established must be reserved for another place; but here we may survey the broad outline of his institutions, and collect the traditions that lived in the mouths of the people. First, however, it should be told how he extended and carried forward the Pomœrium, or hallowed boundary of the city,‡ so as to include within its compass not only the Quirinal but the Viminal, the next hill towards the East. He finished the work which Tarquinius had begun, by building the walls of the city of hewn stone; and where the hills in his new quarter sloped gently to the plain, he fenced them by a gigantic mound, and a moat from which the earth of the mound was dug. He encouraged the increasing population of the city to build on the Esquiline hill, between the Viminal and the Cælian, and himself placed his dwelling there. The valley which lay between the Esquiline and the Viminal, and which was commanded by those heights, he assigned for the residence of the Patricians, and there was formed the Vicus Patricius, or Patrician Street.§

His distrust of the Patricians was the result of the jealousy with which they regarded his beneficent acts in favour of the commonalty, and the importance which he gave to that estate. From his private wealth he discharged the debts by which many of the lower order were weighed down:|| and whereas the creditor had the power of seizing his insolvent debtor and reducing him to slavery, it is reported that Tullius took away this right over the persons of free

\* Dion. iv. 27.

† Fasti were registers of different kinds. There were Fasti Calendares, or Calendars, in which the remarkable days of the year were noted; Fasti of the Magistrates; which contained the records of their succession from year to year; and Fasti Triumphales, which were a list of the Triumphs.

‡ See p. 8. The Pomœrium was properly a consecrated space on each side of the wall. The space without might not be tilled: the space within might not be built upon. Liv. i. 44.

§ Festus.

|| Cic. R. P. ii. 21. Dion. iv. 9.

\* Dion. iv. 1. Ov. Fast. vi. 627, &c.!

† Val. Max. i. x. ‡ Ov. Fast. vi. 577, &c.

§ Ib. v. 625.

|| Dion. iv. 40.

¶ Cic. R. P. ii. 21.



men, and restricted the creditor to a seizure of the goods.\* If Servius Tullius really achieved this step in the progress of liberty, it was lost in the revolution which followed his death, and was not recovered till after many years. But it is probable that the traditions of the commonalty ascribed to him indiscriminately the conception of all the rights for which they afterwards contended. With greater semblance of truth he is said to have apportioned to them the lands which he gained in his Etruscan war. He appointed judges to decide all private suits of the commons, and reserved for his own hearing only public causes.† He divided the whole Roman territory into districts or tribes.‡ Four of these were contained in the city: the number of the country tribes was less certainly known, but the oldest authority makes it twenty-six;§ so that there were thirty in all. Over each tribe a magistrate was appointed, and in each district a hill was chosen as a place of refuge and stronghold for the peasantry and their cattle in time of war. These hill forts, which were called *Pagi*, were placed under the protection of the tutelary gods, to whom altars were there raised, and in whose honour a yearly festival was celebrated, which was called the *Paganalia*. This division into tribes, the union of all the members of the same tribe, and the giving them a head and representative in the person of their proper magistrate, after a time produced consequences, which affected the whole course of Roman affairs, but which must have been far beyond the foresight of Tullius. The institution which he called into immediate action, and the sensible change which he made in the constitution of the state, were of a different character. He caused a census, or register, to be made of the property of each of the citizens; and then, after first distinguishing the knights, in which body were included all the Patricians and the noblest and wealthiest of the commonalty, he divided the great bulk of the rest of the people into five classes according to their wealth. These classes were again divided into centuries; and in this division lay the peculiar force of the whole arrangement. A century was not made of a fixed number of men. In the first place, in each class an equal number of centuries was composed of those within

the age of military service, and of those beyond it, and of course the centuries of the older men must have contained by much the smaller number. Again, the centuries of the richest class were more in number than those of any other, and, consequently, must have been formed of fewer persons. A few centuries, not included in any class, were added below all, in which the poorest of the people were distributed, and these were probably the most crowded. When the people were called together according to these classes and centuries, (an assembly which was named the *Comitia Centuriata*), the votes of each century, from the highest downwards, were taken within itself, and the votes of the greater number of centuries decided a matter. It followed that in this assembly greater importance was given to greater wealth, and among men of the same degree of wealth to the greater age. In the *Comitia Curiata*\* any difference in the numbers of each curia was accidental, not designed, and consequently the vote of each person who had a right to be present was considered of the same value. It may be easily conceived, however, that after the quick and great growth of the State, the ancient divisions of the *Curie* might comprise only a small portion of the whole people, and that, in consequence, the institution of the *Comitia Centuriata*, instead of being an encroachment on popular liberty, might extend powers and rights to many who had not before possessed them. The *Comitia Centuriata* were a military institution. Levies were to be made according to the classes and centuries, and to each class were prescribed the arms and the armour with which they were to equip themselves. The people appeared in the *Comitia* under arms, and in the regular array of an army,† and for this cause they were always holden without the walls, for within the walls the Romans were citizens, not soldiers. The usual place of meeting was the *Campus Martius*, or Field of Mars, a wide plain between the Quirinal Hill and the Tiber. During the time of meeting a guard was posted on the hill of the Janiculum, to give notice of the approach of an enemy, and the lowering the standard on the Janiculum was a signal of danger, which always broke up the *Comitia*. These and similar observances remained as solemn ceremonies, long after their truth and

\* Dion. iv. 9. † Dion. iv. 25. ‡ Dion. iv. 15.

§ Fabius in Dion. See Nieb. p. 359, note 908.

\* See p. 11. † See Liv. xxxix. 15. Dion. iv. 84.

reality had passed away. The magistrate who held the Comitia took the auspices when he passed the Pomœrium, as if going to the command of an army,\* and on the ground itself he observed the auspices from a tabernaculum, or military tent. However, to return to the first institution of the Comitia, Servius Tullius, when the Census was completed, ordered his whole people to appear in the Field of Mars in arms, and arrayed in their proper order; and there purified them by the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bull, a solemn rite, in which these victims were led thrice round the whole army, and then slain.† This rite was repeated (lustrum conditum), whenever the census was renewed, except when the state was supposed to lie under evident tokens of divine displeasure.‡ At this first census it was reported by the old annalists, on the authority of the records, that there were registered 84,700 armed men.§

The fatherly care of Servius was believed to have extended even to the lowest of his subjects; and he is said to have provided for the enrolment of freed men, or liberated slaves, both in the centuries and the tribes, and to have appeased the Patricians, who were indignant at this debasement of the franchises of the state, by sanctioning the attachment of the freedmen and their descendants as clients to the houses of their former masters.|| Even the slaves remembered him as a benefactor; at the cross ways and streets (compita) he caused shrines or chapels to be raised to the public lares, or tutelary spirits, and he ordained a yearly festival in their honour, which was called the Compitalia, and celebrated by the slaves alone. The Compitalia were usually held at the very beginning of the year,¶ soon after the Saturnalia which were observed at the end of the year. At the Saturnalia the slaves enjoyed the licence of freemen in their master's houses; in the Compitalia they were treated as free men by the state: and this acknowledgment of their common condition as men, brief as it was, lightened the burden of their servitude.\*\*

Servius Tullius not only strengthened his people by his internal regulations, but placed them in a commanding station in the midst of the neighbouring tribes.

Rome was now at peace with the independent Latin towns who held their meetings at the fountain of Ferentina, at the foot of the Alban Mount;\* but was not allied with them in any league. Servius brought about such a league, and the acknowledgment of the superiority of Rome. Amongst the ancient nations leagues of this kind were always accompanied with common religious rites as their outward pledge. A temple of Diana, or the Moon, common to the Romans and Latins, was built upon the Aventine Hill,† which was not included within the Pomœrium;‡ and this was the place of their solemn religious meetings. A brazen pillar, on which were engraven the terms of the treaty and the names of the states which were members of the league, was set up in the temple, and was standing in the age of Augustus.§ It appears that the Sabines also shared in the rites of this temple. A Sabine husbandman had a cow of unusual size and beauty. Soothsayers foretold that empire should belong to that people, one of whose citizens should sacrifice this cow to the Aventine Diana.|| The Sabine drove his cow to Rome; but when he brought it before the altar, the crafty Roman priest rebuked him for coming to sacrifice with unwashed hands. The Sabine, careful to perform the rite with all religious solemnity, went down to the Tiber, and while he was away, the Roman sacrificed the cow. The gigantic horns were fixed up for many ages as a memorial in the vestibule of the temple.

Servius had given his two daughters in marriage to the two sons of Tarquinius. Each was coupled with an unlike mate. Lucius Tarquinius, the elder, who was of a proud and violent temper, had a meek and gentle wife: Aruns, the younger, who was quiet and unambitious, was wedded to an aspiring and restless woman. The fiercer husband and wife were soon weary of the milder wife and husband. Their likeness of temper brought them together; and the wife of Aruns stirred up the husband of her sister to deeds more wicked than had yet entered into his heart. The house of each was made empty by sudden death: the husband and the wife, the brother and the sister, were borne forth to burial: and the living were joined in unhallowed wedlock. Tana-

\* Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 4.

† Suovetaurilia, Dion. iv. 22.

‡ Liv. iii. 22. § Liv. i. 44. Dion. iv. 22.

¶ Dion. iv. 22, 23. ¶ Cic. in Pison.

\*\* Dion. iv. 14.

• Liv. i. 50.

† Dion. iv. 26, App. B. C. i. 26.

‡ Aul. Gell. xlii. 14, from Valer. Messala.

§ Dion. ib. ¶ Val. Max. vii. 3.



quill lived long enough to mourn for her younger son.\*

The guilty pair hurried onward in their course of crime. Tarquinius eagerly desired the kingdom; and Tullia suffered him not to wait for the death of her father. It is said that his attempt was hastened by the belief that Servius had in his mind a plan for laying down the kingly power, and intrusting the state to two popular magistrates.† The Patricians were very jealous and angry at the acts of Servius in behalf of the commonalty, and above all, at his dividing the conquered lands among them. Tarquinius courted their favour, and made himself a faction among the most violent; and when he judged that his time was come, he entered the forum with a band of armed friends, seated himself in the royal chair in the Senate house, and ordered the senators to be summoned to the presence of king Tarquinius. Many obeyed, being partners in his plot; many through wonder and fear. Servius Tullius heard the rumour, and came in haste with few in his company. Tarquinius was haranguing when Servius entered. Servius bade him come down from the throne. Tarquinius sprang forward, seized the old man, bore him forth, and flung him down the steps of the Senate house. Discomfited and bleeding, the King was hastening homeward, when men sent by Tarquinius overtook him and slew him. Tullia rode in her chariot to the Senate house, called her husband out, and was the first to salute him King. He bade her be gone from such a tumult: and as she was going back, her charioteer stopped, and pointed out to her the dead body of her father lying across the road. She bade him drive on: the blood of her father was sprinkled on her chariot and on her garment; and from that day that street was called the Wicked Street. The body lay unburied; for Tarquinius said scoffingly, that Romulus also had died without burial. Once thereafter, when Tullia dared to enter the temple of Fortune, where the image of her father was placed, the image covered its eyes, and a voice was heard, commanding its face to be shrouded from the hateful sight; and ever after the face of the statue was veiled.‡ Another tradition said, that it was so veiled lest the people should be roused by the sight of the beloved features to rise against his murderers.§

The memory of Servius Tullius was long cherished by the commonalty, while they suffered under oppressors who sought to undo all that he had done for them. It was remembered that he was born on the nones of some month: the month was forgotten: but his birth-day was celebrated on all the nones by the country people who then came in to the market; till the Senate, in fear, forbade the markets to be holden on the nones.\*

§ 11. Tarquinius seized the kingdom as a recovered inheritance, without any of the forms of election. As the patricians had joined in conspiracy against Servius Tullius through discontent at the favour which he had shewn to the commonalty, the first act of the government of Tarquinius was to repeal the privileges of that rising portion of the people. He forbade the meetings of the tribes and the common sacrifices of the *Pagi*. He removed the judges whom Servius had established, and himself took cognizance of all suits and causes. He abolished the laws which did away the custom of pledging or seizing the person for debt, and even destroyed the boards on which these and the other popular enactments of Servius were graven.† He let the institution of the centuries fall into disuse, except so far as it was the way of embodying the army.‡ The lower order suffered first; but the Patricians soon found that they had set up a tyrant over themselves as well as over the commons. He put to death those whom he believed to have been attached to Servius and to regret his death. He surrounded himself with a body-guard; and, thus armed, he scrupled not, under colour of justice, by means of false accusations, to fine, to banish, or to put to death, those whom he distrusted, or whose wealth he wished to make his own. Their confiscated property swelled his treasures, or purchased for him new retainers. The Senate, thus thinned and weakened and cowed, he seldom called together; but took upon himself to make war and peace, and treaties and leagues, without consulting the Senate or the people. He sought to strengthen his government at home by extending his influence abroad; and grievous as his rule was to his own citizens, he certainly raised the state to a high pitch of power among the surround-

\* Macrob. Saturn. i. 13. The nones were the 5th or 7th day of the month. A full explanation of the Roman calendar will be given hereafter.

† Dion. iv. 43.

‡ With Dion. *ibid.* compare Livy, i. 52.

\* Fabius, in Dion. iv. 30. † Liv. i. 48 and 60.

‡ Ovid Fast. vi. 611, &c.

§ Id. v. 581.



ing nations. He gave his daughter in marriage to Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, the noblest and most powerful of the Latin chiefs; and by war\*, or by intrigues,† he forced or persuaded all Latium to allow the supremacy of Rome in their federal league. Turnus Herdonius of Aricia withstood his ambitious policy. Tarquinius had required a meeting of the Latin chiefs at the grove of Ferentina. They came at day-break: he himself came not till a little before sunset. Herdonius had inveighed against this haughty bearing; and when Tarquinius made his excuse, that he had been detained in determining a dispute between a father and his son, and bringing them to an agreement, Herdonius suffered not this defence to pass without remark. "No question," he said, "could be shorter, or needed fewer words, than one between a father and his son; unless the son were ready to do his father's bidding, it should be bad luck for him." Tarquinius made up his mind to put this dangerous man out of his way. He bribed slaves to convey a store of arms into his lodging by night, and the next morning charged Herdonius with a plot for murdering the assembled chiefs. The arms were found: Herdonius was doomed unheard, and drowned in the fountain of Ferentina. No further opposition was offered to the proposals of Tarquinius. Rome was acknowledged as the head of the Latin league. Tarquinius raised a temple to Jupiter Latiaris on the brow of the Alban Hill; and thenceforward, at the solemn meeting of the cantons of Latium,‡ the Roman King sacrificed the bull, the common victim, and distributed the flesh to the peoples of the league. Forty-seven cities received their portions.§ The union of Latium with Rome was effected so thoroughly, that in the enrolment of the army their forces were not kept separate, but a division of men from one nation was combined with a division from the other. The Hernici afterwards became members of this confederacy.

One Latin city, Gabii, either refused to enter into the league, or afterwards revolted from it. After a hard struggle the Gabines were forced to yield. The terms of the treaty made with them were written on the skin of the bull slain at the making of it, which was stretched for this purpose on a wooden shield. This ancient monument was

preserved to later ages in the temple of Sancus, or Dius Fidius.\*

Strengthened by the Latin alliance, Tarquinius attacked the Volsci, and took from them the rich town of Suessa Pometia. Immediately he was called away to meet an assault of the Sabines, who had come down in two bands into the Roman territory. One he defeated at Eretum, and then marched against the others, who were posted at Fidenæ. They learnt the overthrow of their comrades by seeing the Romans carrying the heads of their leaders fixed on spears; were struck with terror, and yielded themselves to the conqueror.†

The Roman share of the booty of Suessa Pometia amounted to forty thousand pounds, or four hundred talents of silver, the tithe of which, forty talents, was reserved for the king.‡ With this wealth he resolved to fulfil the vow made by his father in his Sabine war, and to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.§ The ground chosen for it was one|| of the two summits of the hill, called in old times the Saturnian Hill, afterwards the Tarpeian; but henceforward, from this temple, which was called the Capitol, the hill took the name of the Capitoline Hill. An older temple of the same name, and dedicated to the same deities, had been built by Numa on the Quirinal.¶ The site selected by Tarquinius was occupied by many altars and shrines, consecrated by Tatius\*\* and the Sabines. The first care of Tarquinius was to cause the augurs to consult the auguries whether the deities, to whom these were sacred, would yield their place to Jupiter, and Juno, and Minerva. The auguries allowed the removal of all, except the shrines of Terminus and Youth;†† and this announcement was received as a most happy omen, that the boundaries of the Roman land should never go back, and that the state should be for ever young. To make a flat space large enough for the building, the rugged peaks of the hill were levelled, a wall raised from some depth below the top,

\* Dion. iv. 53.

† Dion. iv. 52.

‡ Livy i. 53 & 55, (MSS. have *quadraginta*, not *quadringenta*), from Fabius. "The tithe," Dion. iv. 50.

§ See p. 13.

|| On one summit was the Capitol, on the other the Arx or Citadel. There is a doubt concerning their respective sites. Niebuhr places the Capitol on the lower summit, nearer the Tiber, (vol. i. p. 440), Nardini the Arx.—(Cramer's Italy, vol. i. pp. 424–5.)

¶ Varr. v. 8. Val. Max. iv. 4, 11.

\*\* Liv. i. 55.

†† Dion. iii. 69. Liv. v. 54.

\* Cic. R. P. ii. 24.

† Livy and Dionys.

‡ Feriæ Latiniæ.

§ Dion. iv. 49.

and the hollow thus made filled up. In the digging for the foundations a strange portent showed itself; a fresh human head was found beneath the earth; and Etruscan soothsayers expounded, that this place should be the head of a great empire. The temple was raised upon a platform, and was in length a little more than two hundred feet, in breadth a little less. The temple, which was built upon the same foundations after the first temple was burned (A. U. C. 670), and which differed from the ancient structure only by the greater costliness of the materials,\* was adorned with three rows of pillars on the southern front, with a double row on each side. The three shrines were placed side by side, beneath the same roof; that of Jupiter in the midst, those of Juno and Minerva on each hand. The hallowed spots of Terminus and Youth were marked out; one before the chapel of Minerva, the other in her very sanctuary. The spoil of Suessa scarcely sufficed for the foundations of this majestic edifice. The completion and the dedication of it were not destined to Tarquinius. Here were laid up many of the sacred treasures of Rome; but the most awful and mysterious were the Sibylline books. A strange woman presented herself before Tarquinius, bearing nine books, for which she demanded a certain great price. The king refused to give it. The woman departed, and burned three, and demanded the same price for the six remaining books. The king again refused. The woman departed, and burned three; and demanded the same price for the three remaining books. The king consulted augurs, and bought the books, and the woman was seen no more. Tarquinius gave the care of them to two men of the highest rank, assisted by two public slaves, or interpreters.† Their contents were kept secret. One of their guardians, who betrayed his trust, was punished as a murderer of his father, sewn into a leather sack, and cast into the sea;‡ nor were they ever consulted but by a decree of the senate, in seasons of danger and distress.

Etruscan workmen were the chief builders of the Capitol; but the king forced the commons also to labour as his bondmen, dealing out to them, like bondmen, a scanty dole of corn.§ The people were less aggrieved by this task-work, while they were building the great

temple of their gods; but they worked with unwilling hands in completing the Circus and the large sewers of the city. A portion of them he sent off to two colonies, which he founded on the borders of [the] Volscian lands, to guard the territory that he had gained in war. One was the inland town of Signia; the other on the Promontory of Circeii. He made a peace with the Æqui, a nation akin to the Volsci; and renewed the league of the former kings with the Etruscans.

Tarquinius was thus in the height of power, when he was troubled by a strange portent. A snake crawled out from an altar in the palace; the fire was extinguished, and the reptile seized the entrails of the victim.\* The king in fear sent his sons, Titus and Aruns, across the sea to Delphi, with costly gifts, the fruit of his spoils,† to consult the Pythian oracle. The priestess answered, that the king would fall when a dog should speak with man's voice.‡ The young princes had taken in their company their cousin, Lucius Junius Brutus. The sister of Tarquinius had been given in marriage to Marcus Junius, and had borne him sons. The elder brother had been put to death, and Tarquinius had seized his wealth. The younger son, Lucius, to avoid the cruelty of his uncle, feigned himself an idiot. He was kept as a fool in the palace, and surnamed Brutus, which means dull or stupid. He had now offered to the Pythian god a staff of cornel wood. The princes laughed at his gift, but the staff was hollow, and filled with gold. Titus and Aruns, after performing the commands of their father, asked the god which of them should reign after him. The priestess replied, whichever should first kiss his mother. The princes agreed to keep the matter secret from their brother Sextus, who remained at Rome, and to cast lots between themselves. Brutus, in coming down the hill, fell, as if by chance, and kissed the earth. Other prodigies, moreover, filled the king with doubt and fear. Eagles had built their nest on a palm-tree in his garden. While the eagles were away seeking food, vultures came in a flock and destroyed the nest and unfledged eaglets, and beat off the eagles on their return.

Soon after, king Tarquinius was away from Rome, warring against Ardea

\* Dion. iv. 61.

† Zonaras.

\* Ov. Fast. ii. 711.

† Cic. R. P. ii. 24.

‡ Dion. iv. 62.

§ Dion. iv. 44.

‡ Zon. vii. 11.



of the Rutuli, a people on the coast of Latium. He had blockaded the town, and his army were encamped idly beneath the walls. It chanced one evening that the young princes were feasting together with their kinsmen, Brutus,\* and Tarquinius Collatinus, the son of Egerius, the nephew to whom the first Tarquinius had given the lordship of Collatia. They talked of their wives, each praising his own, but Collatinus commending his Lucretia above all. Suddenly they resolved to see what they were doing at that hour; mounted their horses, and rode off to Rome. There they found the wives of the king's sons entertaining other noble ladies with a costly banquet. They rode on to Collatia, though it was now late in the night, and there they found Lucretia spinning by lamp-light in the midst of her maids. They lodged at Collatia that night, and returned in the morning to the camp. The beauty and womanly virtue of Lucretia had fired Sextus Tarquinius with forbidden love. After a few days he returned to Collatia, and was hospitably received by Lucretia as the kinsman of her husband. In the dead of the night he entered her chamber with a drawn sword, and by force and threats so worked on her that she yielded herself to his will. In the morning he departed, and Lucretia sent for her husband and her father. Collatinus came from the camp in company with Lucius Junius Brutus; Lucretius from the city with Publius Valerius. They found Lucretia sitting on her bed, weeping, and her tears gushed afresh at their coming. She told what had befallen, required of them the pledge of their right hands, that they would avenge her shame upon the ravisher, and then stabbed herself with a knife which she had hidden beneath the pillow. The husband and the father cried out; but Brutus drew the knife from the wound, and, holding it up, swore by the blood of Lucretia that he would pursue to the uttermost Tarquinius and all his house, and thenceforward suffer no man to be king in Rome. Then he passed the knife to Collatinus, and then to Lucretius and Valerius; and at his bidding they all took the same oath. Brutus thus threw off his assumed stupidity, and became at once the leader of their enterprise. They carried out the corpse of Lucretia into the market-place. The

strangeness of the sight drew the crowd together. The atrocity of the crime, the innocence of the victim, the grief of her father, and the vehement exhortations of Brutus roused their passions. The youth of the place armed themselves. Part remained to guard Collatia; part hastened, with their leaders, to Rome. The entrance of this armed band threw the people into alarm and tumult: the sight of the noble Romans at their head made them deem not lightly of the cause of their coming. The tale was told and spread abroad. The people gathered together, and were summoned to the forum by Brutus, who held the office of tribune of the Celeres, or captain of the knights. There he spoke, not only of the violence of Sextus Tarquinius, the death of Lucretia, the bereavement of her husband and her father, but of the crimes by which Tarquinius had gained the kingdom, and the tyranny with which he had held it: and he aroused the people so effectually, that by a solemn decree they took away the power of the king, and banished for ever Lucius Tarquinius and his wife and children. In the midst of the tumult Tullia fled from her house, men and women cursing her, wherever she went, and calling down on her head the avenging furies of her sister, her husband, her father.

Brutus armed a body of the younger men, left the command of the city to Lucretius, and set out himself for the camp at Ardea. In the meantime tidings from the city had been brought to the camp, and Tarquinius had set out to quell the rising. Brutus turned aside from the road, so as to avoid meeting him; and when he reached the army, the report of the outrage on Lucretia roused the same temper as in the people of the city. The commanders left in charge by Tarquinius, Titus Herminius and Marcus Horatius,\* took part with Brutus. The whole army confirmed the resolutions of their fellow-countrymen at home, made a truce for fifteen years with the Ardeans, and marched to Rome. At Rome the gates had been shut against Tarquinius and his sons: now he found that the army had deserted him; and he fled to Cære in Etruria. Thus ended the reign of the second Tarquinius, who, by the general character of his government, but more especially by his scornful denial of burial to the body of Servius Tullius†, earned from posterity

\* Dion. Cass. Frag.

\* Dion. iv. 85.

† Liv. i. 49.



the surname of Superbus, or the Proud.

§ 12. This expulsion of the tyrant was a common deliverance to all orders in the state; and all returned to the exercise of their ancient rights. It chanced that Spurius Lucretius had been left by Tarquinius as prefect or governor of the city,\* when he went to the war against Ardea. He was now named Interrex;† and summoned the people to their great assembly, the Comitia Centuriata, to elect magistrates for the commonwealth. It is said that Servius Tullius, in the commentaries which contained his plans for the better ordering of the state, had devised a mode of government by two chief magistrates, who should be chosen year by year. This form of government the senate and people now agreed to set up; and the power of the consuls (though this name was not in use till a later time) was substituted for that of the king. The deliverers, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, were the first elected to this office. They kept all the power of the kings,‡ and all the ensigns of royal dignity, except the diadem: but the Fasces, the bundles of rods, and the axes bound up in the middle of them, were borne by the twelve lictors, not before both, but before each, alternately, in his month; and this honour was yielded first to Brutus. The first act of the consuls was to confirm, by a decree of the people assembled in their centuries, the sentence of perpetual banishment pronounced against Tarquinius and his family by the people in the city. They then purified the city; and themselves first took an oath, and made all the citizens swear, that they would suffer no man to be king in Rome. In order, however, that the religious rites which the kings were accustomed to perform might be duly observed, a priest was appointed, with the title of king, to perform them. The sacrificial king§ enjoyed singular honours; but his office was wholly religious, and even in religious matters he was not supreme, but subject to the chief pontiff. The consuls then filled up the vacant places in the senate, and raised it to its ancient number of three hundred, by enrolling in it the chief men among the knights, a measure which much strengthened the

ties between the higher and the lower orders. They re-established the laws of Servius Tullius, which had been abolished by Tarquinius, especially those concerning contracts and loans; and restored the meetings and common sacrifices of the tribes.\*

The jealousy of the people was not satisfied with the banishment of Tarquinius and his sons. They disliked and dreaded his very name; and they feared lest, at some time, his kindred, who remained in the city, should set up again the kingly power, or bring back the king himself. Even the consul, Tarquinius Collatinus, could not escape the common hatred of his name and race. Brutus moved the people to deprive him of the consulship,† and, supported by a decree of the senate, brought forward a sentence of banishment against the whole Tarquinian house. Collatinus was persuaded by the entreaties of his father-in-law, Sp. Lucretius, to yield without resistance, and withdrew, with all his property, to Lavinium, and there died in old age.‡ The Comitia Centuriata elected Publius Valerius consul in his place.

It speedily appeared that Tarquinius was not without friends in Rome. Many of the noble youth especially, who had before enjoyed licence, where others suffered oppression, and by whom the restoration of the lower orders to equal laws and equal rights was felt as an encroachment on their own privileges, regretted the change of government, and began to look towards the banished king. Tarquinius had hoped to regain his kingdom by the aid of the Latins: but when they showed themselves unwilling to take up arms in his cause, he sought to make friends among the Etruscans.§ Etruscan ambassadors were sent to Rome to demand the restitution of his private property. This demand caused great division of opinion. To keep back the hereditary wealth of Tarquinius seemed unjust; to restore it was to furnish an enemy with the means of supporting a war, the approach of which was clearly foreseen. The senate referred the matter to the decision of the people assembled in the Curiæ;|| and there the plea of justice, not without difficulty, at length prevailed. The ambassadors remained in the city, in order, as they held out, to

\* Liv. i. 59. Tac. Ann. vi. 11.

† Dion. i. 84.

‡ Liv. ii. 1. Cic. R. P. ii. 32.

§ Rex Sacrificulus.

\* Dion. v. 2.

† Cic. de Off. iii. 10.

‡ Dion. v. 12.

§ Dion. v. 3.

|| Dion. v. 6.

get together what belonged to Tarquinius, and to sell the lands and other property which could not be removed. They had, however, another and a hidden purpose. They had felt their way among the nobles, to whom the new commonwealth was irksome; they conveyed to them messages from their friends and kinsmen, who had accompanied the king in his flight; and at last, by offers in the name of Tarquinius himself, won many to join in a plot for receiving the banished prince by night into the city. In this plot were engaged the noble brothers Aquilii; the Vitellii, whose sister was the wife of Brutus; and the sons of Brutus himself, the two Junii, Titus and Tiberius. These all had met for the last time at the house of the Vitellii, the day before the ambassadors were to leave Rome, and gave them tokens of their faith to carry to Tarquinius. A slave overheard their talk, discovered the conspiracy, and opened the matter to Valerius. The consuls came forthwith, and seized the conspirators and the Etruscan envoys. The ambassadors, from reverence to the law of nations, were sent away unharmed: the traitors were thrown into prison. On the morrow came trial, condemnation, and punishment. The people were assembled, the consuls seated, in the Comitium.\* Brutus himself doomed his own sons to death, and beheld them tied to the stake, beaten with rods, and their heads struck off. The other conspirators were tried and condemned by the people,† and suffered in like manner. The informer, the slave Vindicius, was made a free man and a citizen, and rewarded with a sum of money. It was handed down that he was the first slave made free by the form of touching the head with a rod called *vindicta*, and that this name was taken from him; and it remained a custom, that whosoever was made free in this way was accounted a citizen. The envoys from the king had been let go, but the plotting of treason was held to have made void the covenant for the giving up of the goods. All the royal wealth was given over to the commons, who seized and plundered each man what he could; the land was taken by the state, and divided to those that needed it:‡ only the plain between the city and the river was reserved for public

uses. It was consecrated to Mars, and called thenceforward the Campus Martius, or Field of Mars.\* The corn that was then standing upon it, ripe for the harvest, being thus forbidden to the use of man, was cut down, and thrown into the Tiber, and lodging upon the shallows, caused an accumulation of mud, and so laid the foundation of an island, on which in after times the temple of Æsculapius was built.

Tarquinius had withdrawn himself to Tarquinii, the city of his forefathers, and when the plot of his envoys was discovered, he tried to persuade the Etruscans to restore him to his kingdom by force of arms. The people of Tarquinii and Veii took up his cause openly; and with their armies, and such other forces as he could bring together, he entered the Roman lands. The Consuls crossed the Tiber to meet him, and the armies encountered near the Arsian grove, consecrated to the hero Horatus.† Brutus was riding forward in front of the Roman horsemen, and was descried by Aruns Tarquinius, who was at the head of the Etruscan cavalry. Aruns no sooner saw the Consul attended by the ensigns of the kingly power, than, burning with rage and hatred, he spurred his horse, and dashed suddenly upon him. Brutus encountered him, and in the shock each pierced the other through with his spear, and both fell to the ground wounded to death. The cavalry on both sides hastened to avenge their leaders, and presently the foot soldiers came up. The battle was long and doubtful; on the right wing of the Romans Valerius overcame the Veientes; but on the right wing of the Etruscans, Titus and Sextus Tarquinius‡ at the head of the Tarquinian troops, routed the Romans, and chased them to their trenches. Night ended the battle, and each army returned to its camp, worn out with toil, and cast down by the loss of its leader and the number of its slain. Suddenly in the silence of night a voice was heard from the holy forest, which proclaimed that the Romans were victorious; that of the Etruscans had fallen in the fight more by one. The Etruscans were seized with fear and fled, and at the morning light the Romans came upon their camp, and found it empty. They returned with the spoil to Rome, and

\* Dion. v. 8, 10.

† Cf. Dion. v. 9–13, and Plut. Publ. Zon. vii. 12.

‡ Dion. v. 13.

\* See p. 21.

† Dion. v. 14.

‡ Dion. v. 16.



Valerius entered the city in triumph, the first triumph of the Republic. On the morrow he caused the body of Brutus to be borne forth into the Forum, and in the presence of all the people recounted his worthy deeds, a custom which thenceforward remained among the Romans at the burial of great and noble men.\* The matrons mourned a year for Brutus, as the avenger of violated chastity; and his statue of bronze was placed in the Capitol, in the midst of the kings, with a naked sword in his hand.†

Valerius fell into ill favour, because he did not forthwith require the people to give him a colleague in the place of Brutus. The citizens became still more jealous of his purposes, from his building for himself on the Velia, (a rising ground below the Palatine Hill where Tullus Hostilius had dwelt,)‡ a house which looked down like a citadel on the Forum and Comitium. When at length he perceived that he was suspected of aiming at kingly power, he called the people together, and lowered the fasces when he appeared before them, acknowledging that in their assembly resided the supreme power and majesty of the commonwealth. Indignantly disowning the purposes imputed to him, he threw down his house on the Velia, and the people, willing to make atonement for their unjust doubts, gave him § for building a parcel of ground at the bottom of the hill. He then brought forward a law, by which the head of any person who should seek kingly power || was pronounced accursed, and devoted with all his substance to the gods. This was, in fact, a sentence of outlawry. The consul might put the accursed traitor to death without trial: a private man might kill him, and fear no punishment.¶ This acknowledgment and jealous care of the supreme power of the assembled people, gained for Valerius the surname of Poplicola or Publicola, the Man of the People.\*\* But his greatest act was the law which gave to all Roman citizens the right of appeal to the assembly of the people from the sentence of any magistrate. This was the first law enacted by the *Comitia Centuriata*: †† and as soon as

it was passed, Valerius took away the axes from the rods which were borne before the Consul.\* This right of appeal existed only in the city itself, and within a mile of it.† Beyond that distance the military power of the consuls remained unlimited, as that of the kings of old, and the axes were borne and used.

In the glory of these popular laws Valerius had no partner. As soon as they were passed, he held the *Comitia* for the election of a colleague. Spurius Lucretius, the aged father of Lucretia, was chosen, and died within a few days. Marcus Horatius Pulvillus was created consul in his stead. The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which had been built by Tarquinius, was not yet dedicated. The consuls cast lots which should dedicate it, and the lot fell to Horatius. Valerius went forth to the war with the Veientes: but the kinsmen and friends of Valerius envied Horatius this great honour; and when he was now holding the gatepost of the temple, and uttering the prayer of dedication, a voice cried out, "Consul, thy son is slain." A word of mourning would have been of evil omen, and would have broken off the rite of dedication. Horatius answered, "Carry out the dead," held the post, ended his prayer, dedicated the temple, and then learned that the tidings were untrue. The Capitoline Temple had not been founded without portents of its greatness, and prodigies accompanied its completion. Tarquinius had employed Etruscan artists at Veii to mould a chariot of clay which should be set up on the top of the temple. The chariot was moulded and baked, but swelled in the baking, so that it could not be taken out till the furnace was pulled down. The Etruscan soothsayers declared that this chariot betokened power to the people who should possess it. When therefore the Romans demanded it, the Veientes replied, that it belonged to Tarquinius, and refused to deliver it. A few days after there was a chariot race at Veii, and when the charioteer who had won the crown, an Etruscan named Ratumena, was driving from the ring, his horses started off, bore him at full speed to Rome, and dashed him lifeless to the ground at the gate which was called thenceforward the *Porta Ratumena*. The Veientes, afraid at this prodigy,

\* See Dion. v. 17. Polyb. vi. 53.

† Dion. Cass. xliii. 45. Plut. Brut. (Nieb., p. 436.)

‡ Cic. R. P. ii. 31.

§ Plut. Publ.

|| Liv. ii. 8.

¶ Dion. v. 19. Plut. Publ.

\*\* Δημοτικώτατος, Zonar. vii. 12, probably from Dio. Cass. See Nieb. ed. 1, vol. i. c. 26.

†† Cic. R. P. ii. 31.

\* Cic. ib.

† Liv. iii. 20.



gave up the chariot, and it was placed upon the Capitol.\*

In the second consulship of Valerius, in the second year after the flight of the kings, the people were numbered, which had not been done since the days of Servius Tullius, and the number of men fit to bear arms was found to be a hundred and thirty thousand.†

§ 13. The Tarquinii had now fled for refuge to Lars Porsena, the king of Clusium, the most powerful of the Etruscan chiefs, and stirred him up to a war against Rome. The Senate and Patricians not only dreaded the force of their enemies, but they were fearful also lest the hardships of the war should make the commonalty willing to yield to the Etruscans, and receive the banished princes. They sought, therefore, to bind them to their own cause by many popular measures, especially by freeing them from customs and tribute, as if the poor paid enough to the state in risking their lives for its defence, and in rearing children.‡ They also provided against scarceness of food, by laying in stores of corn; and made both corn and salt to be sold at low prices. The Etruscan army quickly overran the country on the right of the Tiber. The country people drove their flocks into the mountains. Some sought refuge in the strong holds; but the greater part withdrew into the city. The enemy came on, and took the Janiculum by a sudden assault. The discomfited Romans were fleeing into the city over the wooden bridge; the Etruscans were hard behind them, running down the slope of the hill. Horatius Cocles, or the one-eyed, who was posted at the bridge, tried in vain to stop the run-aways, and make them keep the pass. Then he engaged single-handed with the two foremost of the pursuers,§ and called out to his countrymen to break down the bridge with all speed, and that he himself would bear up against the enemy as well as he could. Only two stood by him; but those were two gallant and noble men, Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius. These three men held the bridge for a little while against all the force of the enemy. Then, when the bridge was well nigh broken down, and their friends behind were calling them back, Horatius bade his two companions withdraw in safety,

but he himself stood firm, bestriding the narrow passage. The Etruscans, astounded at his boldness, stood aloof, and hurled upon him a shower of darts. He was grievously wounded, but still held his post; and they were making ready to rush upon him, and bear him down by numbers, when the crash of timbers and the shout of the Romans made known that his work was done. Then he called on Father Tiber to receive him in his holy stream, plunged with all his arms into the river, and perished in the waters.\* A brazen statue of him was placed in the Comitium. Even in a late age the welfare of the commonwealth was believed to be connected with the image of its champion. The statue was struck by lightning; and by the advice of faithless and envious soothsayers it was removed to a spot where the sun never shone upon it. The treason was discovered; the statue was fixed in a more honourable site, above its former place, and the lying aruspices were put to death.†

Horatius saved the city; but the Etruscans pitched their camp upon the Janiculum, and crossing the river in boats, overran all the country with parties of plunderers and foragers, and cut off all supplies, so that the Romans were soon hard pressed by famine. In this strait a noble youth, Caius Mucius, undertook to rid his country of her enemy. He made known his purpose to the consuls and to the Senate; passed the Tiber, and entered the camp of Porsena disguised or unobserved. A chief officer of the king, in apparel, which to the Roman seemed royal, was seated on the tribunal, or public seat of the general, directing the distribution of pay to the soldiers. Mucius guessed that he was the king, and stabbed him. Forthwith he was seized by the guards, and brought before Porsena. When he perceived that he had mistaken his aim, he boldly avowed his purpose; and while he offered himself to the death that awaited him, he forewarned the king, who had so hardly escaped, of an early return of a like danger. Porsena, at once enraged and alarmed, threatened him with death by fire, unless he made known the plot against his life. Mucius straightway stretched forth his right hand, and held it in the flame of an altar that was burning before the king. His fearlessness and endurance awed even Porsena: he

\* Plut. Publ. and Festus. (Nieb. p. 439.)

† Dion. v. 20. Plut. Publ.

‡ Liv. ii. 9. Dion. vi. 22.

§ Polyb. vi. 55.

\* Ibid.

† Aul. Gell. iv. 5.

bade his guards take him from the altar, and let him go unharmed. Mucius, in return, told him that he was one of three hundred youths, all of patrician race,\* who had sworn to kill Porsena: that his own lot had fallen out first; but that, as he had failed, the king must abide the attempts of all the others in their turn. So he came back to Rome safe, but maimed; and was called ever after *Scævola*, or the *Left-handed*. The Senate gave him as his reward, as much land as he could plough round in one day;† and certain fields beyond the Tiber, called the *Mucian Meadows*, were believed in after ages to be the gift thus earned. It chanced that the season of the great games fell during the war; a truce was granted for the due observance of this solemnity; and some of the Etruscan nobles came into the city, contended for the prizes, and bore them off.‡

Porsena, who dreaded the murderous war which the Roman youths had sworn against him, and whose army was becoming weary of the siege, began to wish for peace; and the Etruscan conqueror offered terms to the Romans. The demand that the *Tarquinius* family should be restored, was refused at once; and Porsena, whether that he was unwilling to make the war, as he would have made it by standing out in his demand, a war not to be ended but by the faking and utter overthrow of the city, or whether an outrage of the *Tarquinius* had estranged him, thenceforward gave up the cause of the royal exiles. He required that seven districts which had been taken from the *Veientes* § should be restored to them; and that hostages should be given from the most illustrious houses for the observance of the treaty. To these terms the Romans submitted; and twenty children of the first houses, ten youths and ten maidens,|| were sent as pledges to the Etruscan camp; amongst them was *Valeria*, the daughter of the consul. So the Etruscans broke up their camp from the *Janiculum*, and departed from the Roman lands. Not long after, when they were still encamped near the bank of the Tiber, *Clœlia*, one of the hostages, swam the river on horseback,¶ at the head of the maidens her companions, amidst the darts of their pursuers, and all escaped safe to Rome. The Romans, jealous of their good faith,

sent back these pledges of the peace: the Etruscan king, in admiration of their courage, generously released them, and presented *Clœlia* with a war horse in splendid trappings.\* He gave her also the freedom of half of the youths who remained as hostages; and allowed her to choose out whom she would. The maiden modestly and pitifully chose the youngest. The Romans, as a memorial of the renewal of the peace, raised an equestrian statue of her in the *Sacred Way*; and they sent as an offering to Porsena, an ivory throne and sceptre, a golden crown, and a triumphal robe; the offerings by which the Etruscan cities had once acknowledged the sovereignty of *Tarquinius*.†

When Porsena quitted Rome, his son *Aruns* led a part of his army forward into *Latium*, and attacked *Aricia*, the chief town of the *Latins*. The *Ariceines* at first were forced to withdraw within their walls; but being aided by the other Latin tribes, and by an army from *Cumæ* in *Campania*, under the command of the tyrant *Aristodemus*, they defeated the Etruscans, and slew *Aruns* and many of his men. The rest of the army fled to Rome, and were hospitably received, and their wounds healed. Many chose to remain in the city; and a place was marked out for them to dwell in, a hollow between the *Palatine* and *Capitoline* hills, leading from the *Forum* to the *Great Circus*,‡ which bore thenceforth the name of the *Tuscan Street*. Porsena, in requital for this kindness, gave up the hostages who were still in his keeping, and restored the conquered lands beyond the Tiber.

§ 14. *Tarquinius* had withdrawn to *Tusculum*, and taken refuge with his son-in-law *Mamilius Octavius*. From this quarter Rome now looked for a storm, but it burst not forth for some few years. In the mean time the Romans and *Sabines* harassed each other with wars of plunder and ravage. The consul, *Marcus Valerius*, won a great victory, and earned for himself a triumph and the surname of *Maximus*, or *Greatest*, and other honours which long remained a token of the singular respect paid in the early years of the republic to the *Valerian House*.§ *Publius Valerius Publicola* had already held the consulship thrice; and he was now made consul a fourth time. The *Sabines* were still threatening war; but they

\* Dion. v. 29.

† Dion. v. 35.

‡ Serv. on *Æn.* xi. 134.

§ Dion. v. 31.

|| Dion. v. 32. Plut. Publ.

¶ Plut. Publ.

\* Dion. v. 34. Plut. Publ.

† See p. 18.

‡ Dion. v. 36.

§ Dion. v. 39.



were divided among themselves; and a great chief, Attus Clausus, who had counselled peace in vain, came over to the Romans with a large band of clients. They were all made citizens; lands were assigned to them; and he himself was received among the patricians; and under the Roman name of Appius Claudius became one of the first men of the state, and was the ancestor of the great Claudian family. Valerius defeated the Sabines once more; and himself died in the following year, full of honours. He was buried at the cost of the people: a place was granted for the burying of his body within the walls, an honour given to no other citizen;\* and the matrons mourned a year for him, as they had mourned for Brutus.

§ 15. Dangers gathered about the city more and more thickly. Plots were discovered within the walls:† the subject colony of Fidenæ revolted, and stood a hard siege: the Latin states became more and more jealous and discontented. At last they broke the bonds that bound them to Rome, and leagued themselves against her, under the guidance of Octavius Mamilius, chief of Tusculum. Still, however, the evil day was delayed by a year of truce, during which both parties made ready for the struggle, and with calm and deliberate enmity solemnly loosed those ties by which kindred and friendship had knit them together. Many Roman women had been given in marriage to Latin husbands: many Latin to Romans. It was ordained that each might freely return to her own people with her unmarried daughters. The Roman women, from the Latin cities, came home to their fathers: all the Latin wives in Rome abode with their husbands, save two.‡ The town of Præneſte also fell away from the Latins, and took part with Rome. Then, at last, the two nations took the field, and their armies met near the lake Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum. The Latins were headed by Tarquinius and Octavius Mamilius: the Romans were commanded, not by consuls, their ordinary magistrates, but by Aulus Postumius, the dictator, a magistrate created with extraordinary powers for extraordinary occasions, and by Titus Æbutius, his lieutenant, who bore the title of Master of the Knights. The battle was fierce and bloody; and not a

chief man on either side came out of it unwounded, save only the Roman dictator. The banished king, Tarquinius, began the fight; for while Postumius on the right of his line was encouraging and arraying the Roman horse, Tarquinius rode at him at full speed. Postumius baffled his onset, and wounded him in the side. Then the Latins charged from the centre of their line, rescued the king, but after a short struggle were driven back by the Romans. On the left wing Titus Æbutius was opposed to Octavius Mamilius. Each bore down every other adversary in his way; and when they came in sight of each other, they set spurs to their horses, and Æbutius with his spear wounded Mamilius in the breast, and bore him from the saddle, but was himself pierced through the arm with a wound so grievous that he could no longer grasp his weapon, and was forced to quit the field. Mamilius, undismayed by his wound, roused his men to fresh efforts; and Sextus Tarquinius came up from the left wing of the Latins, at the head of a cohort of the Roman exiles. By this desperate band the Romans were driven back in turn, and were now giving way, when Marcus Valerius Maximus, seeing Sextus at the head of his troop, spurred his horse, and dashed upon him. Sextus retreated within his line; and while Valerius was carried by his headlong charge into the thickest of the enemy, he pierced him by a side thrust: the horse rushed onward, and Valerius fell to the earth. Then sprung forward Publius and Marcus Valerius, the sons of Publicola, to rescue the body of their father's brother; and gallantly they fought; for the body was borne away; but the noble youths themselves fell covered with wounds in the midst of a thick slaughter of the exiles. Still the Romans were beaten back, and Postumius was forced to bring up his chosen cohort, the body of reserve, which he kept as a guard about himself. Bidding them slay all that fled, if they turned not back to the battle, he led them against the terrible band of the exiles. These were now wearied and worn; the dictator's guards were fresh, and were forcing them to give ground. Octavius Mamilius perceived this, and brought up some troops from the rear to charge the dictator in flank. Titus Herminius at the head of a squadron of horse had rallied the Roman fugitives, and with this double force anticipated the move-

\* Dion. v. 48.

† Dion.

‡ Dion. vi. 1.



ment of Mamilius, and charged him as he advanced with his reserve. Herminius himself marked out Mamilius by his arms and mantle, encountered him, and with one shock transfixed him with his spear, and bore him to the ground. He leaped from his horse to spoil his enemy, and, while he was bending over him, was pierced by a javelin in the side, and was carried into the camp, and there died. Then the dictator flew to the horsemen, and called on them to dismount and support the cohorts on foot. They leaped from their horses, and rushed to the front of the battle, holding up their little targets to cover their wearied countrymen; and the foot soldiers were inspired with fresh courage, when they saw the knights, the noblest of the youth, fighting like themselves, and more than sharing their dangers. At last the Latins and the exiles wavered, and broke their line, and fled. The Romans pursued, and the knights mounted their horses again. Sextus Tarquinius with a little band on the extreme left still held out, and even drove back the Romans on that quarter; but when Postumius wheeled upon him with the victorious cavalry, in utter despair he rushed into the midst of them; and there, surrounded by horse and foot, fighting to the last, assailed from every side with darts like a wild beast, and slaying all who dared to meet him hand to hand, he fell overpowered with many wounds: and his father fled from the field. The Romans chased the Latins to their camp, took it by assault, and scattered them over the face of the country, and cut them down without mercy, so that not a fourth part of them escaped.

In this battle the old story told how two youthful horsemen of more than mortal size and beauty were seen by Postumius and those about him heading the charges of the Roman cavalry, and bearing down the Latins before them: and in the evening two youths beautiful and tall appeared in the Roman Forum, covered with dust and blood, their horses drenched with sweat, and themselves with the looks of men fresh from battle. They leaped from their horses, and washed themselves in the fountain which springs up near the Temple of Vesta, told the news of the battle to the crowd that gathered round them, then rode from the Forum, and were seen no more. On the next day, when a messenger came from the

dictator, and the Senate heard of his victory, and how he had vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux, they recognised the presence of the deities. The temple was built in the Forum, on the spot where they appeared; and yearly, on the Ides of Quintilis (15th July), the day of the victory of the Regillus, was celebrated the festival of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux); and after solemn sacrifices, all the knights on horseback passed in procession by their temple, in military mantles, crowned with olive, and bearing all the badges of honour which they had won in war. On the field of battle, by the Regillus, a hoof-mark on the rock remained to witness to later ages the truth of the divine apparition.\*

By this victory the power of the Latins, and the hopes of the banished house, were broken at once. Postumius and Æbutius returned in triumph to Rome. Tarquinius Superbus, who had now outlived all his family, aged and outcast and friendless, fled to Cumæ, to the tyrant Aristodemus, and there died.†

§ 16. Such were the traditions of the Romans concerning the period from the foundation of their city to the death of the last of their kings. They are related, as they appeared when they had been moulded into a continuous narrative; but, so far as the oneness of the story would allow, their oldest and most poetic features have been preserved. The guidance of Livy, the national and popular historian of Rome,‡ has been mostly followed. The manifestly recent ornaments of his stories have been omitted: where the traditions have been preserved by a trust-worthy authority in a form which seems more ancient, the older tale has been substituted; and on similar authority such circumstances have been added, as had an aspect of antiquity, and were not inconsistent with his narrative. Such circumstances have been frequently supplied by the broken summary of early Roman history in Cicero's Dialogues on a Republic, § especially those which illustrate the ancient constitution. The notices which connect the events of old time with the national superstitions are taken mostly from Dionysius, || who seems to have

\* Cic. Nat. Deor. iii. 5.

† Liv. ii. 19—21. Dion. vi. 1—21.

‡ See Chap. ii. § 2. 1.

§ Chap. ii. § 3. 7.

|| Chap. ii. § 2. 2.

attended more than Livy to the peculiar traditions of the priests and augurs.

It will be worth while, however, to notice some of the more remarkable variations in the story; and those points shall be selected, where the conflicting traditions seem to have equal claims to antiquity, where the celebrity of the authorities demands regard, or where the colouring of the tale indicates the spirit of the age in which it was received.

Nævius,\* following the fables of ancient Greek poets,† represented Æneas as escaping from Troy before its capture. Virgil, intent on exalting the character of his hero, has adopted the story which made him defend his country to the last. The older and more romantic and popular poet sees in him an outcast chief with a few personal followers; Virgil describes him as a prince emigrating with no small portion of the conquered people. The old account, which is preserved from Cato, of the slaughter of Latinus, and the seizure of his daughter and his kingdom, smacks of the temper of a violent and bloody people, to whom war was too familiar to jar their domestic feelings. In a more civilized and milder age Dionysius and Livy related, that when the armies of Æneas and Latinus met, the chiefs advanced before their troops, and after friendly parley made a peace, and subsequently confirmed it by the marriage. Virgil's poem could not spare the battle; but it is the rival lover, and not the father of the maiden, who is slain.

Of the earlier Grecian accounts of Rome, some represented Æneas himself as its founder;‡ and even among Roman writers Sallust seems inclined to go back to this remote origin: § the greater number described the founder, Romus or Romulus, as the son or grandson of Æneas. || Such traditions were preserved also in the sacred books of the Romans themselves;¶ and such was

the story adopted by the poet Ennius.\* In a fragment of his great poem, preserved by Cicero, the vestal Ilia is an orphan. Her father appears to her in a dream; and she relates the portentous vision to her sister, the daughter of Eurydice.† In this version of the tale Amulius must have been a stranger to the Trojan race.

We have a remarkable example of the way in which the old traditions were confounded, in the story which is repeated by Plutarch from one Promathion, who wrote a History of Italy. According to this legend, the twin founders of Rome were born in the house of Tarchetius, King of Alba; and the circumstances of their birth are much the same as those reported in the story of the supernatural parentage of Servius Tullius.‡

It seems that the earlier traditions told of only thirty Sabine virgins borne off by the lawless followers of Romulus. Later annalists augmented the number, as they fancied that the magnitude of the city required. The mediation of the women in the older stories is a peaceful embassy; but the more recent picture drawn by Livy is so surpassingly beautiful, that the imagination is unwilling to renounce it. In the heat of the battle, the Sabine women, with garments rent and hair dishevelled, rush between the contending hosts, fearless of the darts that fly around them, and beseech at once their fathers and their husbands to cease from their parricidal strife. Probably Livy took this scene from the poem of Ennius.

In the old legend, Rome glories in her founder. His reign becomes brighter and brighter to its close, and he is borne away from men only to become the guardian god of his adoring people. The seemingly more historical narrative, which relates that he became a cruel and suspicious tyrant, and that the senators, under cover of the darkness of a storm, tore him to pieces, and carried away his mangled remains beneath their robes,§ is the offspring of an age, when men had become less imaginative without becoming more judicious; when the Asiatic kings had begun to be known and despised and hated; and when civil

\* FL. B. C. 240. See Chap. II. § 7. 3.

† Dion. I. 48. See Nieb. pp. 152, 162.

‡ Hellanicus and Damastes in Dion. I. 72.

§ Sallust died about A. U. C. 718. He wrote the history of the Jugurthine war and of the conspiracy of Catiline. These works are preserved. He wrote also a history of the events of the Roman world in general, from the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and Q. Lutatius Catulus, A. U. C. 675, the year of Sylla's death. Of this work only fragments remain. He speaks of the origin of Rome in a digression near the beginning of the Catilinarian war.

|| Dion. I. 72, 73. Plut. Rom. Niebuhr, pp. 175—183.

¶ Dion. I. 73.

\* See Chap. II. § 7. 3.

† Cic. De Div. I. 20. The verse of Ennius preserved by Nonius, v. nepos,

Ilia, dia nepos, quas erumnas tetulisti, is apparently a portion of the prophecy of Anchises. Ilia is the name which Greek writers commonly substitute for the Latin Silvia.

‡ Page 20.

§ Liv. I. 16. Dion. II. 56. Plut.



dissensions had been so envenomed, that the populace could believe the nobles guilty of any crime. By these marks it is conjectured that this version of the story is at least as late as the times of the Gracchi. (A. U. C. 632.)\*

To the later Romans Quirinus was the deified Romulus; but Varro and Dionysius have preserved the native Sabine legend, by which it appears that he was an ancient god of the Sabine nation. A virgin of Reate came to the temple of the god to bear her part in a sacred chorus; and, urged by a sudden impulse, she left her companions, and entered the inmost shrine, and there became pregnant by the god. Her son, Modius Fabidius, became renowned in war, and gathered a band of his comrades, and founded Cures, as Romulus, the son of Mars, according to the Roman tradition, founded Rome.†

There was a belief, which Polybius,‡ Cicero, Dionysius, and Livy, took the pains to refute by chronological arguments, that the wisdom of Numa Pompilius was derived from the teaching of Pythagoras.§ The fame of Pythagoras probably reached Rome during his lifetime; for his age seems to fall in with the end of the monarchy, when, as appears by the treaty with Carthage, || Rome held the sovereignty over many towns on the coast, and maintained an extensive commercial intercourse with the neighbouring countries. He lived long in the memory of the people; for in the Samnite war, when the Romans were commanded by the Pythian oracle¶ to raise a statue to the wisest of the

Greeks, they raised a statue to Pythagoras.\* The Samnite wars began in the year of the city 413. The popular belief, which connected Pythagoras with Numa, was probably of this date.

Cicero† ascribes to Tullus Hostilius the assumption of the badges of royal dignity, the crown and ivory chair and purple robe, the fasces and axes; which Dionysius attributes to the first Tarquinius, and Plutarch to Romulus.

The Roman annalists gave to the father of the elder Tarquinius the name Demaratus, and made him a citizen of Corinth. Polybius mentions these circumstances as part of the common tradition.‡ Thus, apparently from a comparison of the received Grecian chronology with the chronology laid down for the Roman kings, the specious story was invented, that Demaratus was one of the ruling family of the Bacchiadæ, who were dispossessed of their oligarchy and driven into exile by the demagogue and tyrant Cypselus.§ But a very different story is connected with Demaratus, and one seemingly of older date. He is represented as the civilizer of the Etruscans. He is said to have introduced among them the knowledge of alphabetical writing,|| and to have been attended by the artists Euechir and Eu-grammus, who are evidently personifications of skill in moulding vases of clay and designing upon them.¶ To the same story belongs the account, that he became the ruler of Tarquinii.\*\* This legend probably took its origin among the Greek settlers in Italy, who were unwilling to acknowledge any civilization or skill in the arts among the barbarians of the west, which was not derived from their own nation.

In the order and circumstances of the wars of the first Tarquinius, Livy and Dionysius are irreconcilably at variance; and his wars with the Etruscans, and their acknowledgment of his supremacy, which Dionysius relates, are recorded by no Latin writer, except Florus and the compiler of the triumphal Fasti.†† But there is another legend respecting him, which strikes at

\* See Nieb. pp. 198, 199.

† Dion. ii. 48.

‡ See Chap. ii. § 3. 7.

§ Pythagoras was a Grecian philosopher, a native of Samos, born before the middle of the sixth century before the Christian era. He visited Egypt; and derived a portion of his philosophy from Egypt or the East. He was skilled in arithmetic, mathematics, and astronomy. He discovered the proof of the proposition, that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other sides. He knew that the sun was the centre round which the earth and other bodies of our system revolved. He taught the doctrine of the immortality and transmigration of souls; and his moral laws were singularly strict and pure. He came into Italy, according to Livy, in the reign of Servius Tullius (i. 18), according to Cicero, in that of Tarquinius Superbus (Tusc. Quest. i. 16). He became a popular and powerful teacher in the cities of Magna Græcia, and endeavoured to introduce an aristocracy of intellect and education. Cicero seems to have thought that the influence of his doctrines reached even to Rome (Tusc. Quest. iv. 1).

¶ Polyb. iii. 22. See "Outline of General History," ch. 9, § 7.

¶ Hist. of Greece, ch. i. end.

\* Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 6.

† R. P. ii. 17. See Mai's note.

‡ Pol. vi. 2.

§ Dion. iii. 46. Corn. Nepos in Plin. N. H. xxxv. 3.

|| Tac. Ann. xi. 14.

¶ Plin. N. H. xxxv. 12.

\*\* Strabo, viii. 6, 20.

†† Niebuhr, pp. 307 and 325. Florus, the compiler of a short history of Rome, lived under the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, about A.D. 117. He was therefore much later than Dionysius, and probably copied from him.

the very root of the received tradition. It gives him for a wife, not the Etruscan Tanaquil, but Caia Cæcilia; whose name connects her with the plebeian family of the Cæcili. The Cæcili were of Latin origin; and claimed as their ancestor the mythic founder of Præneste, Cæculus, who was reported, by tradition, to have been found in the extinguished ashes of a fire among the sheepfolds, and believed to be the son of Vulcan.\* The antiquity of this story of Cæcilia is attested by the circumstances connected with it. Caia Cæcilia was possessed of magic powers, and wore a magic girdle. Her statue was preserved in the temple of the old Italian god, Sancus; and filings from the girdle of the statue were taken as amulets by persons in great danger. She was revered by the Roman matrons as the patroness of good housewifery and industry at the loom.†

The brief narrative of Cicero does not include the circumstance, which is mentioned by Livy and others, that the elder Tarquinius made Servius Tullius his son-in-law: and it is probable that it made no part of the old story: for thus the sons of Tarquinius would have been represented as marrying their sister's daughters, a mixture held unlawful among the Romans;‡ and the mention of such incest would hardly have failed, when the crimes of the tyrant were recounted. Valerius Antias § assigned to Servius a wife Gegania; and related the prodigy of the flame that played about his head, as having happened to him in his later life, when he had fallen asleep after sorrowing for this Gegania.|| Gegania appears to have been mentioned in some accounts as the wife of Tarquinius Priscus himself.¶ The great mound of Servius Tullius (p. 20) is described by Pliny as the work of Tarquinius Superbus.\*\*

Under the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, the historians detail the artifice by which he gained possession of Gabii. His son Sextus, to give colour to the plot, is scourged by order of his father; flies to Gabii as a deserter; is received by the citizens; is made their leader; consults his father, how he shall deliver the city into his hands; is answered by

the significant action of his father in cutting off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden; puts to death the chief men of the place; and opens the gates to the Romans. This story must evidently have been patched up from the stories of Zopyrus and Thrasybulus in Herodotus.\*

In narrating the rape of Lucretia, the later Romans were not content that her chastity should yield to simple menaces, or even to force. They ascribe to Sextus Tarquinius a refinement and subtlety in his threats; that he would slay her, and murder a slave, and lay the body naked by her side, and make her husband and her kinsmen believe that he had killed her in ignominious adultery: and thus Lucretia, who had withstood the fear of death, yielded to the fear of dishonour. Cicero says nothing of this; he may, indeed, have omitted it for the sake of brevity; but the story seems to be not at all after the spirit of rude and simple times. It is exceedingly valuable, however, as marking distinctly the morality of the ages in which it was invented, and during which it remained the popular tradition. The desire of praise and the fear of shame, in subordination to the laws of a morality founded on independent principles, may be useful as a stimulus, or as a safeguard. But the Romans, when they began to philosophize, very commonly set them up as the first motives of action. This false feeling became a portion of the national character; and even the best among the Romans made the object of their ruling passion that praise of men, the love of which for its own sake, we know from a better philosophy, and from revealed religion, to be fatal to true moral goodness. Thus Lucretia was extolled for preferring the means to the end, the name to the reality of virtue; and Christian writers have been blind enough to repeat the eulogium.

The narrative of Livy, in accordance with the borrowed and fabricated story of the betrayal of Gabii, describes Sextus Tarquinius as retiring thither, after the banishment of his house, as to his own lordship; and there perishing by the hands of avengers of his former crimes. In the history of Dionysius, he survives his brothers, and is the moving spirit of the Tarquini in all their attempts to regain the kingdom,

\* Virg. *Æn.* vii. 678—681, and Servius.

† See authorities in Niebuhr, pp. 310, 324.

‡ cf. Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 6.

§ See Chap. ii. § 3, 5.

|| Plut. de Fort. Roman. c. 10. (Nieb.)

¶ See Dion. iv. 7. ed. Reiske.

\*\* Hist. Nat. iii. 9. See also Dion. iv. 54.

\* iii. 154, &c. v. 92, 6.



and falls in the last and deadly struggle at the lake Regillus.

As we proceed to the history of the Republic, we find the discrepancies between the accounts of different writers become more numerous in proportion as their materials become more ample. Those statements which are utterly at variance with the received story, and which, nevertheless, involve historical truth, will be examined in another place. Here we need mark only the more prominent points of disagreement in the popular traditions.

Livy, like Cicero\*, assigns no reason for depriving Tarquinius Collatinus of the consulship, except a jealousy of his name; and places his banishment before the conspiracy in which the sons of Brutus were engaged: so that Valerius is already consul, when he seizes the conspirators. The very strangeness of this story is a proof of its genuineness. Dionysius, (who is followed by Plutarch,) evidently in order to supply a reason for the seemingly unworthy treatment of Collatinus, describes him as still consul when the conspiracy is detected. He says, that the Aquillii were his sister's sons; and that, notwithstanding the example of severity in Brutus in condemning his own sons, Collatinus interposed to protect his nephews from the punishment due to their treason; that he thus incurred the just displeasure of the people, and excited their suspicions, and was compelled by Brutus, who was bent upon the punishment of the traitors, to abdicate the consulship, and go into exile; and that then Valerius was chosen consul in his place. That this is not the genuine tradition is further proved by the circumstance, that in all the stories it is Valerius who arrests the conspirators; and the explanation of this circumstance, which is given by Dionysius and Plutarch in accordance with their scheme, is unsatisfactory.

The Campus Martius is spoken of as public land in the reign of Servius Tullius; it is described as the property of Tarquinius, when his estates are seized by the Republic. A little ingenuity, such as Dionysius has shown,† might reconcile these inconsistencies. But a conflicting tradition attests that the Campus Tiberinus, or Plain of the Tiber, (by which name none other than the Campus Martius was understood,)

was a gift to the Roman people from the Vestal Caia Taratia, or Suffetia; and an Horatian law\* is cited, by which various honours were decreed to her in return, especially a statue to be erected where she chose.†

Many of the acts of the first consuls are ascribed solely to Valerius. This results, probably, from the partiality of the historian Valerius Antias. Thus Cicero ascribes to him the popular measure of suffering the fasces to be borne only before each consul alternately.‡

The dedication of the Capitol is referred by Livy to the first year of the republic, when P. Valerius and P. Horatius were colleagues in the consulship. By Dionysius and the Fasti it is assigned to the third year; and they make Valerius and Horatius colleagues in that year, where Livy names Valerius and P. Lucretius.§ Tacitus also agrees in placing the dedication of the Capitol in the second consulship of Horatius.||

The war of Porsena is placed by Livy in the second year of the republic; by Dionysius in the third. In a battle before the capture of the Janiculum, according to Zonaras, the consul Valerius was so severely wounded as to be borne from the field in a litter. This circumstance was evidently added to keep up the character of Valerius, and probably came originally from Valerius Antias.

The story of Horatius Cocles is related as it is told by Polybius. According to the later historians, wounded and accoutred as he is, he swims across the Tiber, and lives to be honoured by his grateful country with the gift of as much land as he can plough round in one day; and in the siege and famine all the citizens stint themselves of food to supply his want, and each man and woman gives him one day's provisions.¶ This contribution of food is a circumstance borrowed from the story of Manlius, who was thus rewarded by the garrison of the Capitol for his bravery in repelling the Gauls.\*\* In a similar manner Dionysius repeats the story of the gift of lands, when he assigns the same reward to Mucius. The fancy of the fabricators of the Roman annals was

\* The Romans distinguished laws by the *gentile* name of the magistrate by whom they were proposed. An Horatian law (*Lex Horatia*) is a law proposed by Horatius.

† Plin. xxiv. 6. Aul. Gell. vi. 7. Plut. Public. where the name Tarquinia is evidently a corruption.

‡ R. P. ii. 31. § Liv. ii. 15. || Hist. iii. 2. ¶ Liv. v. 47.

\* R. P. ii. 31.

† Dion. v. 13.

wonderfully barren. These are by no means the only examples in which we meet with an absolute repetition of circumstances. It is observable, that Dionysius, in detailing the exploit of Mucius, omits the burning of his hand; evidently as savouring too much of the marvellous: yet, doubtless, this was the very soul of the old tradition, the one circumstance which kept it alive in the minds of the people.

There were two traditions regarding the hostages given to Porsena. Clœlia is the heroine of the more celebrated story. According to the other, Tarquinius placed an ambush, and fell upon the hostages as they were led to the Etruscan camp, and massacred all except Valeria, who escaped back to the city.\* Dionysius and Plutarch have clumsily mixed the two.

The events between the war of Porsena and the battle of the Regillus, which Livy condenses into a very brief compass, Dionysius expands to an extraordinary and wearisome length; and in all the domestic conspiracies, the wars of the Sabines, the revolt of Fidenæ, the league of the Latins, Sextus Tarquinius, the deadly enemy of the republic, is the indefatigable agent. One of the stories of Dionysius it may be worth while to mention. The emissaries of the banished king had fomented a conspiracy within the city, among the slaves and the more needy and discontented of the populace. The strong places were to have been seized on a certain night; but two young men of the house of the Tarquini, Publius and Marcus Tarquinius, who dwelt at Laurentum, and who were chief agents in the plot, were haunted with horrible dreams and visions, till they were driven to make known the meditated treason to the consul Sulpicius. The conspiracy was crushed, and the informers were excepted from the banishment of their house, and rewarded with the rights of citizens.† Of this very year Livy notes, that nothing worthy of memory was done in it.‡

Livy knows nothing of a consulship which Dionysius bestows upon the heroes Larcus and Herminius, the companions of Cocles, in the fourth year of the republic. He places the battle of the Regillus in the tenth year from the expulsion of the kings, in the consulship

of Æbutius, who becomes master of the knights. Dionysius (following other authors, whom Livy also had consulted)\* dates it three years later, in the fourteenth year from the flight of Tarquinius, according to his own chronology, when A. Postumius, who was named Dictator, had been consul.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Of the Credibility of the History of the early Ages of Rome.*

§ 1. Proposition. § 2. Of the extant Historians—i. Of Livy—ii. Dionysius of Halicarnassus—iii. Plutarch. § 3. Of the earlier Historians, whose Works are lost—i. Of Fabius Pictor—ii. L. Cincius Alimentus—iii. M. Porcius Cato—iv. L. Calpurnius Piso—v. Valerius Antias—vi. Licinius Maceo—vii. Cicero's Dialogues concerning a Republic, and Polybius. § 4. Of the Pontifical Annals—that they were lost in the destruction of Rome by the Gauls—of their nature. § 5. That private Records were also destroyed. § 6. Of the public Documents which escaped destruction—i. Treaties—ii. Laws—iii. Lists of Magistrates—iv. Registers of the Census—v. Religious Books. § 7. That the narratives of the early Roman History were derived mainly from popular tradition, and that they had been handed down in a poetical shape—i. Examples in other nations of traditional heroic Poems, and of their becoming the materials of History—ii. Testimonies to the existence of such Poems among the Romans—iii. Further remarks on the more ancient Roman poetry—iv. Of the plebeian character of the Historical Poems. § 8. Of the Chronology of the early ages of Rome—i. That the duration assigned to the reigns of the Kings is improbable—ii. Of the origin of this Chronology—iii. Of the dates assigned to the foundation of the City. § 9. Recapitulation and Conclusion.

§ 1. It has been stated in the introduction to the preceding chapter, that the history which is commonly related as the history of the early ages of Rome is not to be received as a true narrative of facts. We now proceed to examine the reasons of that assertion.

§ 2. The two chief authors from whom we have received a continuous detail of early Roman history, are Titus Livius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The other histories which have been transmitted to us are merely compilations and abridgments, the credit of which must stand or fall with the credit of the two great historians. Plutarch has presented a portion of the history in his lives of Romulus and Numa and Valerius Publicola; and he is a writer so popular, that his narrative has greatly contributed to form the common belief.

Now these writers all lived many centuries after the events which they narrate.

i. Livy was born in the year B. C. 58,† in the year of the city 695. The

\* Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 13. (6).

† Dion. v. 54, &c.

‡ Liv. ii. 19.

\* ii. 21.

† Crevier's Preface.



date of the composition of his history is fixed by internal evidence. The first book must have been written within five years after the battle of Actium\* (B. C. 31-26). The question therefore arises, upon what authority does he rest his history of times so remote as the first ages of Rome? He does not profess to ground it upon contemporary memorials of any kind. He himself describes the portion of Roman history from the foundation of the city to its capture by the Gauls,† as even more obscure than it would have been rendered by its mere antiquity, because in those early times writing was used but seldom and to a small extent, and such records as were contained in the commentaries of the pontiffs, and in other public or private monuments, for the most part perished in the conflagration of the city.‡ The truth of this statement will presently be made still more manifest. But Livy made very little use even of such inscriptions and public documents as were within his reach. He appeals, indeed, to the treaty of Spurius Cassius with the Latins, engraven on a column of brass.§ But in the notable instance of the inscription on the Spolia Opima of Cornelius Cossus, preserved in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which was at variance with the received fasti (or register of magistrates) and the common accounts of historians, he does not appear to have had the curiosity to examine the monument himself, but is content with repeating the report of Augustus Cæsar.|| This is one of the few passages in which he descends to a critical comparison of evidence and authorities; and it will serve as a proof how little expert he was in that art of an historian, and how little he valued its results; for though in this digression he professes to believe in the superior authority of the inscription, in the main course of his narrative he follows the beaten track of the writers who had gone before him. He makes no mention of other monuments which we know to have existed; the brazen column in the temple of the Aventine Diana, on which was engraven the treaty of Servius Tullius with the Latins, with the names of the tribes who were members of the league;¶ the treaty of Tarquinius Superbus with Gabii, written on a bull's hide, and preserved in the

temple of Dius Fidius;\* a treaty with the Sabines of the time of the kings;† the treaty with Carthage in the first year of the republic‡ (and here his negligence is without excuse; for even though the document itself might have perished before his time, he would have found the translation of it in Polybius, if he had consulted him before he began to narrate the Punic wars); and finally, the treaty with Porsena, which was known to Pliny.§ He does not, therefore, found his narrative upon contemporary records; but avowedly draws his materials from the works of earlier annalists, Fabius Pictor, Calpurnius Piso, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, Ælius Tubero,|| and reposes upon their authority. As long as his guides agree in the main points of their story, he follows them without fear or doubt. When they openly contradict each other, especially on questions of names or dates, then he sometimes honestly confesses the difficulty, and acknowledges in general terms the uncertainty of the history of the first centuries of the city.¶ But very many discrepancies less flagrant, and even some as important as those which he has specified, he passes over without notice; and yet we know with certainty that they existed, because they appear in the narrative of Dionysius, who drew from the same authorities as Livy. A few of these have been already mentioned.\*\* But though the course of his narration is sometimes checked by the conflict of external testimony, he is never induced to pause or doubt by any internal difficulty, any inconsistency or contradiction or perplexity in the received story. Nothing less than a miracle is too strange for his acquiescence.†† It is evident that he has bestowed no labour upon examining the probability of the events which he relates, or investigating their connexion as causes and effects. Yet this unquestioning assent has not always resulted from a real belief. In his preface he acknowledges that the traditions of the times before the foundation of the city are better suited to poetic fables than to true history; but he thinks that their

\* Dion. iv. 59. See p. 24.

† Hor. Epist. ii. 1, 25.

‡ Polyb. iii. 22. For an account of Polybius, see below, § 3, vii.

§ H. N. xxxiv. 14.

|| For passages in which they are cited by name, see index to Livy.

¶ See i. 24; i. 46; ii. 18; ii. 21; ii. 40; ii. 54 iii. 23, &c.

\*\* Chap. i. § 16.

†† See v. 21, 22.

\* Crev. Pref.; Liv. i. 19.

† Outline of Gen. Hist. ch. xii. § 4.

‡ Liv. vi. 1.

§ II. 33.

|| IV. 20.

¶ Dion. iv. 26.

marvellous character is only what may be reasonably expected in legends of so great antiquity; and he declines the task of either confirming or refuting them. In reporting the prodigies of the siege of Veii, while he admits that he does not claim for them the belief of his readers, he lets us see with how low a test of truth he was satisfied himself: "In matters so ancient I shall hold it enough if what is truthlike be received as true."\* And in commemorating the self-devotion of M. Curtius, an exploit which is placed even thirty years later than the capture of the city by the Gauls, he plainly professes the principle upon which his history is written: "I would not spare research, if there were any way by which an inquirer might arrive at truth: now we must abide by common report, where the lapse of time will not allow us certain evidence."† It follows, therefore, that the concurrence of Livy adds no weight to the testimonies which he repeats; but that, in order to judge of the credit which is due to his history, we must examine into the character of the authors upon whom he relies, and into their means of knowing or discovering the truth.

Before, however, we close this discussion of the credit of Livy, we must inquire whether there are any qualities in his manner of writing which impair his credibility, and detract from the authority of accounts which have been transmitted through him. Now there are sufficient proofs that he wrote hastily and even carelessly. He sometimes mentions incidentally, in a subsequent part of his history, circumstances which he has omitted in their proper place. Thus it is only by his remarks on the proposal for communicating the dignities of pontiff and augur to the plebeians (l. x. c. 6), that we learn from him that Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres were names of the ancient tribes. He sometimes repeats,‡ sometimes contradicts§ himself. It is an instance and proof both of his carelessness and his want of familiarity with the antiquities of his country, that, though he expressly informs us that till a very short time before the capture of the city the Roman way of fighting was in close phalanx with long spears, yet in no description of a battle does he allude to such tactics, and com-

monly uses of the older times the terms which relate to the more modern structure of the army.\* We cannot, therefore, feel assured that he always represented accurately the statements of the older annalists from whom he takes his materials. He may not always have understood them. He certainly might be at a loss to understand contemporary documents, even if he had been more studious in referring to them; for more than a hundred years before, Polybius, in speaking of the treaty with Carthage made under the first consuls, observed, "that he had interpreted it as accurately as he could; but that so great was the difference between the recent and more ancient dialect of Rome, that the most intelligent men had difficulty in distinctly determining the meaning of some parts of it:"† and Livy has given little evidence of such learning. It is possible, therefore, that he did not always understand the meaning of old terms and forms of speech repeated by the annalists, especially those which related to an obsolete state of the laws and government and popular rights. There is a strong appearance of his having made a mistake of this kind in l. iv. c. 34. Such an imputation will be less startling when we consider that in several instances he has manifestly misunderstood the Greek historian Polybius, and has even falsified his narrative in order to accommodate it to his own misconception.‡

Any errors, however, which might arise from these causes would be single and detached; could bear but a very small ratio to the bulk of the history, and would not affect its general spirit. But the very tone and manner of Livy's work, however great may be his power of description, however lucid his style of narration, however much he may dazzle the imagination or interest the feelings of his readers, is a warning against implicit belief. He excelled in narration and in the eloquent expression of excited feelings; and he obviously delighted in the exercise of his genius. In reporting the traditions of the early ages of Rome, he seems less desirous to ascertain the truth than to array the popular story in the most attractive garb. He is not so much an historian as a poet; and, if we may guess

\* v. 21.

† vii. 6.

‡ xxxv. 21 and 30.

§ Compare xl. x. 22, and x. xiv. 44.

\* Compare viii. 8, and i. 43, with i. 52, and other passages.

† Polyb. ii. 22.

‡ See examples in Crevier's preface.



from the colouring of his "style," in some passages he has borrowed the inspiration of the poet Ennius rather than adhered to the meagre statements of the annalists.\* As the history advances, and the truth of facts is better ascertained, he is of course compelled to record them with greater fidelity; but still his whole work is a triumphal celebration of the heroic spirit and military glory of Rome. Here then is a disturbing force which has borne him away from the strict line of historical truth. To this desire of exalting the glory of his country (and no doubt to a similar impulse actuating those from whom he copied), we must ascribe the singular phenomena which appear on the face of the history: that in perpetual wars with the surrounding states, the Romans were never defeated in the open field;† that, when they were distressed, it was always by pestilence or famine or sedition, and that at such seasons their enemies abstained from attacking them; that they gained victory after victory without subduing their opponents; that taken cities reappear in the power of their original possessors;‡ that consuls and dictators triumph in succession over nations that are still able to supply subjects for new triumphs to new consuls and dictators; that slaughters, which must have exhausted any state of ancient Italy, diminish not the number of their perpetually renovated adversaries. As an instance of this exaggeration and falsification of the history, it will be sufficient to mark here, what will be noticed at greater length hereafter, Livy's account of the rescue of the city from the Gauls, and of the subsequent victories of the Romans over that terrible enemy. Here Polybius has preserved the outline of the more credible history. May not the misrepresentation be as gross, where the truth is not equally ascertained? To this passion for extolling the military reputation of Rome we owe the comparative neglect of the less popular and less ostentatious subjects of domestic history. Every war and triumph, of which any memorial, true or false, existed, is scrupulously registered; but the original constitution of the state, the divisions of its citizens, their several rights, the contests between the orders, the constitution of the general or partial assemblies of the

people, the powers of the magistrates, the laws, the jurisprudence, their progressive melioration, these are subjects on which our information is vague and scanty, and ill-connected. It is evident that to the mind of Livy they possessed comparatively but little interest; and that on these matters, to say the least, he did not exert himself to correct the errors or supply the defects of the writers who preceded him. He was satisfied, if from a popular commotion he could extract the materials of an eloquent speech. It is a sufficient proof that on this most important portion of Roman history he was really ignorant, that with all his power of language he does not convey clear and vivid ideas to the minds of his readers. Who has risen from the perusal of the early books of Livy with a distinct notion of a Client, or of an Agrarian Law?

ii. Dionysius of Halicarnassus finished his history very nearly at the same time as Livy. He himself has fixed the date of its publication to the 745th year of the city. Like Livy, he has made but very little use of contemporary monuments. We have seen, indeed, that he has mentioned some which are not noticed by Livy, the league of the Latins with Servius Tullius, and the treaty of Tarquinius Superbus with Gabii. But he has not recorded the substance of these documents; nor has it even occurred to him that the very existence of a treaty with Gabii is utterly inconsistent with the story which he himself has told of the betrayal of the town to the Romans by Sextus Tarquinius.\* Like Livy, he relies upon the authority of the earlier annalists.† He seems, indeed, to have studied them more carefully, and to have extended his researches more widely. Thus he has profited by the valuable authority of Cato, whom Livy has not cited. Nor can Dionysius be charged with the haste and carelessness which are apparent in Livy. Yet there are causes which render his authority far less valid even than Livy's, and indeed absolutely worthless, where his assertions are not supported by the express citation of testimony, or strong internal probability.

Dionysius wrote with an avowed purpose, different from the purpose of reporting the truth according to his knowledge. Dionysius was a Greek. The

\* Compare the ruin of Alba i. 29, with the fragments of Ennius.

† See ix. 19.

‡ See Perizon. *Observ. Histor. c. iv. p. 164.*

\* p. 36.

† i. 7.

Greeks had long looked upon themselves as the first race of mankind in all intellectual excellence, in polity and war, in philosophy and arts; and they stigmatized all other nations with the distinctive and contemptuous appellation of barbarians. To them the Romans were barbarians; and it was a sore humiliation to them to have become the subjects of barbarians, and to have seen empire and supremacy in all the active pursuits of life pass to a people utterly alien to Greece. It was an additional mortification to them, that this people was a people of yesterday; a people whose origin at the best was obscure, and, according to the legends of the Asylum, even infamous.\* Many Greek writers had indulged their wounded pride by reviling the Romans: Dionysius chose a more artful method of soothing and flattering his countrymen. He undertook to show that the original population of the city was of Grecian descent; that Rome was in fact a Grecian city; that its religion, its government, its laws, its manners, were Grecian, however much the lapse of ages might have estranged it from its parent stock. For this purpose he collected accounts of the early population of Italy, and of immigrations from the adjacent regions of Greece; and he found enough in tradition to give a specious colour to his fiction. Upon the assumption of this fiction he has constructed his whole history; and the speeches especially which he has put into the mouths of his characters, are fashioned in accordance to it, with even a ludicrous grossness of invention. In accordance with the same system, he has sought to remove all appearance of uncertainty and obscurity from the early history of Rome, and to sink every circumstance which seemed inconsistent with its dignity. Where the popular traditions, imbued, as popular traditions always are, with a poetic spirit, recounted marvellous and supernatural tales, Dionysius, not aware that such fables stand in no uniformly assignable relation to the truth, but are the lawless offspring of the popular imagination, has invariably supposed that he could present historical facts, by simply omitting the prodigies, or interpreting them by conjecture into something possible. Wherever he saw, or fancied that he saw, any inconsistency in the received story, he has always botched it with a detail of cir-

cumstances evidently of his own invention;\* and he does not scruple to depart, on his own notions of probability, from the testimony of preceding writers.† Yet, except in the very earliest times, he never honestly acknowledges, like Livy, any disagreement in his authorities, or uncertainty in the history. In cases where we know from Livy, that the earlier annalists differed among themselves, or even public records were at variance, on questions of names or dates, Dionysius continues his narrative boldly and smoothly, without intimating, in the slightest degree, the unsoundness of his historical foundation.‡ And in cases far more numerous, we know from the discrepancy of the two historians the want of agreement in the authors whom they both must have consulted: yet, in Dionysius, all is told as certain; and there is not even a complaint in general terms, such as Livy makes not unfrequently, of any lack of information on matters of so great antiquity. Such a complaint would indeed come with an ill grace from Dionysius; for he has indulged in a minute detail of circumstances, which by itself is a powerful argument against his veracity. The events which, in Livy, occupy a little more than three books, by Dionysius are expanded into eleven; and this bulk is filled up with speeches, which have as little pretence to dramatic probability as they have to historical truth; with anecdotes which, from their very nature, could never be publicly known; and with a multitude of circumstances which no writer but Dionysius could have thought it worth while to repeat, which are evidently invented, and yet are utterly unimaginative in their character. Livy ministered to the triumphant pride of his countrymen; and Dionysius had probably sufficient ill judgment to suppose, that he was flattering the Romans as well as soothing the Greeks. But in Livy we have the national traditions; and if we do not find the truth, we find what the Romans themselves gladly believed to be true. From Dionysius we gather nothing of the national spirit of Rome. His work is a dull and fraudulent fabrication, from which nothing valuable is to be extracted

\* e.g. Mucius's Etruscan nurse.

† e.g. In the genealogy of the Tarquins.

‡ As in the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, the first dictator, the battle of the Regillus, the taking of Antium, the death of Coriolanus. See *Beaufort*, P. I. ch. xii., P. II. ch. vii., *Sur l'Incertitude de l'Histoire Romaine*.

\* See *Juven. s. viii. in fin.*



but by a cautious and suspicious research.

iii. Plutarch lived more than a century later than Livy and Dionysius. There is no appearance of his having sought for any new sources of information; and it is not probable that he always resorted to the original authorities. The two more recent historians must have thrown the earlier annalists in some measure into obscurity; and Plutarch seems indeed in several passages to have followed Dionysius. That he should have frequently consulted the old writers is the less likely, because, as he himself confesses, and as he has shown in the course of his work, he was imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language. We know moreover from his Grecian lives, that he was inaccurate, and compiled his narratives indiscriminately from authorities good and bad. We cannot therefore account him a safer guide in other cases, although we may have less evidence to detect his errors. He had the same erroneous notion with Dionysius of the mode of converting legendary fables into history. He had not the national partiality of Livy, nor the dishonest purpose of Dionysius; but his method of writing lives exposed him to the temptation to exaggerate the exploits of his hero for the time. Of this tendency we have examples in the life of Publicola.\*

§ 3. We must proceed therefore to examine, as well as we are able, the credibility of the earlier historians, from whom Livy and Dionysius derived their information. As their works have perished, and are known to us only by a few scattered fragments and citations, it is impossible to review each singly. But after a few remarks on the more eminent of them, we shall enter upon the argument which equally affects all.

i. The oldest Roman historian,† upon whose authority Livy and Dionysius most confidently rely, was Quintus Fabius Pictor. Fabius Pictor was contemporary with the second Punic war,‡ and it was probably after its termination, that is, five centuries and a half after the foundation of the city, that he wrote the history of Rome from its origin to his own time. He was him-

self a senator,\* and must therefore be supposed to have been well acquainted with all that could readily be known of the history of his country; and he possessed every facility of access to treaties and other ancient monuments; but of these there is no proof of his having availed himself. In his narrative of the birth and education of Romulus, though he referred to the poetic legends of his country,† which of course must have been familiar to him, yet, in the method in which he reduced them to an historical guise, he followed an obscure Greek writer, Diocles of Peparethus, by whom the chief circumstances of that form of the story which finally prevailed had first been published to the Greeks.‡ He showed his judgment by running over the events of the early history in a summary manner, and attempting an accurate detail only of what fell under his immediate knowledge.§ Yet, even in the latter part of his history, he is charged by Polybius with taking an incorrect view of the relation of events, and with suffering his perception of the truth to be perverted by his national partiality.|| We may reasonably conclude, that the same partiality would affect his narrative, where the evidence of facts was less certain.

In his account of the birth of Romulus and the foundation of Rome, we are expressly informed¶ that Fabius Pictor was followed by Cincius, Cato, and Calpurnius Piso; and his whole history indeed seems to have been the textbook of all subsequent historians.

ii. Lucius Cincius Alimentus also lived during the second Punic war. He was a senator,\*\* and had held the office of prætor;†† and was lieutenant to the consul T. Quinctius,‡‡ A.U.C. 545. He was taken prisoner by Hannibal, and admitted to personal intercourse with that great man.§§ Dionysius gives the same general account of his history, as of that of Fabius Pictor.¶¶ It is probable, however, that it was of greater value: for we are told by Livy, that Cincius carefully examined and recorded ancient monuments;¶¶ and even from the few fragments which we possess of his annals, we can extract information

\* Polyb. iii. 9.

† Dion. i. 79.

‡ Plut. Rom.

§ Dion. i. 6.

¶ Polyb. i. 14, iii. 8, 9.

¶¶ Dion. i. 79.

\*\* Dion. i. 74.

†† Liv. xxvi. 23.

‡‡ Liv. xxvii. 29.

§§ Liv. xxl. 38. Hannibal. See Outline of General History, ch. xiv. § 5.

¶¶ Dion. i. 6.

¶¶ Liv. vii. 3.

\* In the preceding remarks use has been made of an able article in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, History, ch. xvi. "On the Credibility of the Early Roman History."

† Liv. i. 44; ii. 40. Dion. i. 6; vii. 71.

‡ Liv. xxii. 7. See also c. 57, and Appian.

on the early relations of Rome with the Latins, and on some other points, which have been disguised in every other report. It is therefore to be much regretted, that Livy has never once cited him as an authority for any event in the history of the first ages of Rome.

iii. Marcus Porcius Cato was consul in the year of Rome 558, and subsequently censor.\* Cicero bears abundant testimony to his high intellectual and moral character; and Livy has passed a splendid judgment upon him.† In his old age he composed an historical work, in seven books. The first contained the actions of the Roman kings; the second and third the origin of all the Italian cities; whence the whole work was entitled "Origines." In the fourth he passed immediately to the first Punic war.‡ We have express testimony to the industry and learning which he displayed in this work. It would have been especially valuable to us, if it had been preserved, as recording the traditions and antiquities of the other Italian cities, which are now irrecoverably lost through the predominance of Rome, and the selfish vanity of the Roman writers. Even from the citations of Dionysius we collect much information. Livy has not referred to the authority of Cato in his extant books; at least he has not cited him by name.

iv. Lucius Calpurnius Piso, like Cato, was consul and censor; consul in the year of Rome 620. From what is known of his annals he does not appear to have been a writer of discretion or judgment. He seems to have been the first of the Roman historians who corrupted the popular traditions, by stripping them of their marvellous incidents, by substituting his own interpretations and inventions, and by falsifying the received stories, in order to accommodate them to the received chronology.§

v. Valerius Antias lived in the time of Sylla (about A.U.C. 672). Livy cites him frequently; but always to note his exaggeration and falsehood in reporting numbers.||

vi. Licinius Macer was a writer of the same age. The criticism of Cicero\* gives no high opinion of his judgment. Livy on one occasion suspects him of falsifying the history in order to gratify the vanity of the Licinian family.† We shall soon have occasion to observe that family vanity was a fruitful source of corruptions in Roman history. Licinius however is worthy of notice, because he seems to have been more diligent than other writers in examining original documents. He had inspected a treaty with Ardea, made in the year of Rome 310; and he had consulted certain ancient records written on linen (*libri lintei*), and preserved in the temple of Moneta, which contained the names of the magistrates for several successive years.‡ From the narrow limits within which these archives are cited by Livy on the authority of Licinius, it appears probable, that either they were not of great extent, or but a small portion of them had been preserved.

vii. It should be mentioned that Cicero himself, in his Dialogues concerning a Republic (a work which was supposed to be lost, but of which very large fragments have been recently recovered), presents a summary of the early history of Rome. This, it appears from his expressions, was taken chiefly from the authority of Polybius. Polybius was a native of Megalopolis in Peloponnesus, and distinguished himself in the service of the Achæan League (*Outline of Gen. Hist. chap. xiii. § 3*). He was made a prisoner by the Romans; and at Rome was honoured with the friendship of the younger Scipio and other distinguished men. He wrote a history, comprising the events of the western world from the beginning to the end of the Punic wars (A.U.C. 489—607), in forty books. Of these only the first five are preserved entire; but there are fragments of the rest. It appears that in the sixth book he digressed to give an account of the early history and of the institutions of Rome. From this part of the work Cicero has taken his summary. We know that Polybius, as a writer of recent history, was accurate and judicious; and therefore we may reasonably attach considerable value to the remains of his antiquarian researches; especially when they are stamped with the approbation of so

\* The censors were magistrates appointed to take the census, that is, to register the people. Their powers were gradually enlarged, and their office in the age of Cato was the most honourable in the state.

† Liv. xxxix. 40.

\* Corn. Nep. Life of Cato.

§ See his account of the Curtian Lake, Varro de L. L. iv. 42; the story of Tarpeia, Dion. ii. 33, &c.; and his making Tarquinius Superbus the grandson of Priscus, Dion. iv. 7. See also Niebuhr, p. 193.

|| e.g. iii. 5.

\* De Legg. i. 2.

† Liv. vii. 9.

‡ See Liv. iv. 7, 20, 23.



great a man, and so learned and accomplished a writer, as Cicero.

Such are the chief writers, upon whose authority the histories of Livy and Dionysius are founded; and it is worthy of remark, that the most valuable seem to have been the least used. With regard to all however the question may justly be raised,—what materials did they possess for the history of the early ages of Rome, from the foundation of the city to its capture by the Gauls?

§ 4. This question forces itself upon us, when we find that the earliest Roman historians lived five hundred and fifty years after the date assigned to the foundation of the city, and a hundred and ninety years after its recovery from the Gauls. Before the work of Fabius Pictor, we are expressly informed by Cicero\*, that there were no historical records but the Annals of the Pontiffs. The writers who have maintained the credibility of the early Roman history have conceived that these Annals furnished the materials of it. It is therefore necessary to examine what they were, and how far they were preserved. Antonius in Cicero† relates, “that, for the sake of preserving the public memory of events, from the commencement of the Roman State till the time of the chief pontiff, P. Mucius,‡ the chief pontiff (Pontifex Maximus) used to commit to writing all the events of each year, and transcribed them on a whited board, and set up the tablet in his house, that the people might have the opportunity of reading them; and these are even to this day called the Great Annals (Annales Maximi).” We are not told what security there was for their perpetual preservation; but we may suppose that they remained laid up in the house of the pontiff. Whether the Annals composed by one pontiff were handed over to his successor, so that the whole collection might remain in the custody of one person, is much more doubtful. A series of such Annals “from the commencement of the Roman State,” if they had been preserved, would have furnished materials for history, meagre perhaps, but certainly trustworthy. But with this passage of Cicero we must compare the avowal of Livy, to which reference has been made already; § “that

the events of the history of Rome from its foundation to its capture are obscure, not only on account of their great antiquity, but because writing, the only sure method of preserving the memory of events, was in those times rare, and used but to a small extent; and even if any records were contained in the Commentaries of the Pontiffs and other public and private monuments, the greater part of them perished in the conflagration of the city.” No doubt can reasonably be entertained that by the Commentaries of the Pontiffs Livy meant the tables which Cicero calls the Great Annals. These must at least be included in his general description. When we remember that the Gauls were in possession of the city, plundering, burning, and destroying, for seven months,\* we must assent to the conclusion, that it was exceedingly unlikely that any records should be preserved, except those which were deposited in the Capitol. Now there is no likelihood that the Annals were deposited in the Capitol; for the chief pontiff did not reside there.†

We have however what amounts to an absolute proof, that the genuine annals for the period anterior to the capture of the city were destroyed; and that, if annals of that time were shown in later ages, they had been constructed subsequently in order to supply the loss. We know from a passage of Cato,‡ that the record of eclipses formed a prominent part of the register of the chief pontiff. Cicero, in his “Dialogues on a Republic,”§ mentions that Ennius had recorded, that the sun was eclipsed on the nones of June, in the 350th year of the city, and then he proceeds thus:—“And from this day, which we see marked in Ennius and in the Great Annals, the preceding eclipses of the sun have been calculated backwards until that which took place on the nones of Quinctilis (July), in the reign of Romulus, in which Romulus was said to have been carried up to heaven.” The original records therefore no longer existed; otherwise there would have been no need of calculation. We see that annals were extant which professed to represent the events of the 350th year of the city, or the 15th year before its capture. These might have been saved from the general wreck, or

\* De Legg. l. 2.

† De Orat. ii. 12.

‡ Mucius was the colleague of Calpurnius Piso, in the consulship A.U.C. 620.

§ Liv. vi. 1.

\* Plut. Cam.

† Nieb. p. 213.

‡ A. Gell. ii. 23.

§ i. 16.

might easily have been restored from memory. But if there were any which related to an earlier time, in these, as the records of the eclipses were replaced by calculation (whether scientific or empiric, and how accurate, we know not), so the records of events must have been replaced by recollection, which would become more and more uncertain as it went further and further back, till at last it must have ended in mere tradition or invention; and it is obvious that the forcing a history so constructed into the form of annals must have given birth to a chronology altogether arbitrary, and have caused greater falsification (more deceitful, because it was concealed under a show of exactness) than if the traditions had been left to themselves in the mouths of the people. Livy was of opinion, that in early times the Annals, or Commentaries of the Pontiffs, as a portion of the sacred writings, were reserved for the knowledge of the Patricians only, and that the Plebeians were not admitted to the sight of them.\* If this opinion be true (and it is not improbable), there was certainly less chance that the genuine contents of the annals could be restored by memory; but on the other hand we may be sure that their contents were less valuable for the purpose of a national history, and that we have less reason to regret their loss. It is evident that their original intent must have been to record prodigies and other events to which superstition attached importance; else why should they have been composed by the pontiffs? Political incidents would be commemorated only so far as they were connected with superstitious observances. All historical record beyond this must have been of later growth, accidental and imperfect. Even in later times, we know, from the passage of Cato already cited, that the Annals were filled with frivolous memorials of this kind, which the grave historian disdained to repeat:—"I am not inclined to write what we find in the table of the Pontifex Maximus, how often the market was high, or how often the sun and moon were eclipsed." The story of the statue of Horatius Cocles† is quoted by Aulus Gellius from the Pontifical Annals; and it is probable that the lists of prodigies and expiations with which Livy sometimes closes a year‡ were taken from

the same source. Like the superstitious records of other nations, they began, no doubt, with fabulous genealogies; nor is it incredible that "the sacred tablets,"\* from which various writers derived various accounts of the descent of Romulus from Æneas, were the fabricated tables of the pontiffs.

§ 5. When the public monuments perished, it is not to be supposed that private records escaped destruction; and we have seen that Livy includes both in the general wreck. A certain Clodius, a chronologer quoted by Plutarch in the beginning of his life of Numa, boldly affirms, not only that the ancient genealogical records of the great Roman families were lost when the city was destroyed by the Gauls, but that those which were extant in his time were very generally fabricated in order to gratify the vanity of men who desired to be thought to be descended from illustrious ancestors, with whom they had no connexion. Family records therefore at the least could give no help to the historian of the early ages. In fact they were a great source of the corruptions of Roman history. But observations upon this head must be deferred till we resume the course of the narrative; for the portion of Roman history, to which the family memorials have chiefly contributed, and which they have grievously corrupted, is the history of the first centuries of the republic. Under the kings, the name of not one private person, with the exception of the Horatii and of Attus Navius, is mentioned, between the accession of Numa and the events which led to the expulsion of Tarquinius.

§ 6. What public documents then escaped from the conflagration of the city, which could serve as materials and authorities for history? and how far were they used for that purpose? Livy will in part supply the answer. He states,† that the first care of the Senate and Consuls, after the recovery of the city, was to cause search to be made for such treaties and laws as could be found: the laws were those of the Twelve Tables,‡ and some of the kings. Of the documents thus recovered, some were made known to the people at large; but those which related to religious matters were suppressed by the pontiffs, that they might maintain their dominion over the minds of the multitude.

\* Speech of Canuleius, iv. 3.  
† Sup. p. 30. ‡ e. g. xxi. 62.

\* Dion. i. 73. † vi. 1.  
‡ See Outline of General Hist. ch. xii. § 2.



To the treaties and laws may be added some records of the succession of magistrates, the registers of the census, and divers religious books: not the Sibylline books and other prophetic books, for these could be of no value for history; but those in which religious forms and ceremonies were prescribed.

Of these monuments the treaties and laws would be very valuable for the external and internal history. There is a passage in Suetonius\* from which some critics have endeavoured to show that a large number of such memorials was preserved. The Capitol itself had been burned in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian (A.D. 70), and Vespasian set to work to rebuild it. There had perished in the conflagration about three thousand brazen tablets, in which, according to Suetonius, were contained Resolutions of the Senate, and Resolutions or Opinions of the Commons (*Plebiscita*), concerning alliance and treaty, as well as privilege (enactment in favour of an individual), to whomsoever granted, almost from the first origin of the city. These the emperor undertook to restore, and sought for copies wherever he could find them.† Even if this passage were taken exactly as it is written, how very small must have been the portion of such instruments anterior to the capture of the city, in comparison with the number which must have been accumulated afterwards during the period of the growth of the republic, and under the emperors, from Augustus to Vespasian. But it is obvious that Suetonius has written vaguely. So far is it from being possible that there should be *plebiscita*, Resolutions of the Commons, concerning alliance and treaty, graven in brass, and fixed in the Capitol almost from the origin of the city, that there could scarcely be any such documents earlier than the year 414, the Dictatorship of Publius, nearly fifty years later than the departure of the Gauls.‡ If, as is not improbable, Suetonius used this expression inaccurately, and meant in general ordinances of the people, what

is our warrant that he was more accurate in the rest of his description? Besides, the Capitol had been burned before in the civil wars of the republic (A.U.C. 670), and rebuilt by Sylla. What early monuments existed in it at that time? how many had been preserved? what diligence had been used in restoring the lost? with what success?

i. Some treaties however were preserved; more, doubtless, than we now find mentioned by extant writers; and these might have supplied most precious materials for history, if the first historians had been aware of their value; if they had had curiosity to search for them, and judgment to use them. But here was the deficiency, which left the monuments that the destroyer had spared, whether treaties, or laws, or memorial inscriptions, to perish in unprofitable neglect. The notion of a critical history never belonged to the early age of any literature. As uneducated persons believe all that they read, or rather as children believe all that they are told, the first historians of a country always receive and repeat the vulgar traditions. Succeeding writers fall into the track of those who have gone before them; and a history thus founded on tradition remains legendary in its character, and not critical. It is in a later and higher state of intellectual cultivation, when the knowledge of pure truth, and not the gratification of imagination, or of curiosity, or of national vanity, becomes the object of history, that genuine documents are worthily prized by the historian, and sought and used. The history of Fabius Pictor was history in its childhood; and unfortunately for the Roman literature, the national pride prevented the full and manly development of the historical spirit, whenever the attention was directed to any but comparatively recent times. We do not find, therefore, that a true historical use was made of the monuments which continued to exist. It has been already observed, that the treaties of Servius Tullius with the Latins, and of Tarquinius with Gabii, are mentioned without the slightest notice of their contents; and the treaty of Spurius Cassius with the Latins, and the treaty with Ardea, are cited by Livy\* only to determine the consuls of their respective years, not to throw light on

\* Vesp. viii.

† Suet. Vesp. viii. *Ærearumque tabularum tria milia, quæ simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit, undique investigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur, pæne ab exordio Urbis, Senatus consulta, Plebiscita, de societate et fœdere, ac privilegio, cuicumque concessis.*

‡ A law introduced by the Dictator, Q. Publius, completed the enactments by which the *Plebiscita* were made binding on the whole State. Nieb. ed. 1, vol. ii. ch. 27.

\* Liv. ii. 33, iv. 7.

the political relations of the republic.\* It is not to the professed historians of the period that we owe the knowledge of the treaty with Carthage, concluded in the first year of the republic, or of the treaty with Porsena. These, as will be shown hereafter, are in fact irreconcilable with the received history. But the strongest proof of the little curiosity with which such monuments were regarded, is to be found in the testimony of Polybius.† After reciting at length three treaties made by the Romans with the Carthaginians, the first, that which has been already mentioned, the last concluded so late as in the war with Pyrrhus (about A.U.C. 472),‡ he adds, "that they were preserved on brazen tablets in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, in the repository of the Ædiles; but that it was not wonderful that the historian Philinus was unacquainted with them, for that even in his own time the oldest both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, and men who appeared to take most interest in public affairs, were ignorant of their existence." At this time Fabius, Cincius, and Cato, had already written their histories. If then treaties with Carthage, the great rival with which Rome had been so recently engaged in a struggle for empire and for existence, were thus neglected and forgotten, what attention would be given to ancient covenants or leagues with the petty towns of Latium or Etruria?

ii. The laws of the Twelve Tables were preserved, and some laws enacted by the kings.§ After the expulsion of the Tarquins, Papirius, a patrician, made a collection of the laws of the kings, and this code seems to have survived, and to have been extant in some shape in the time of the jurist Pomponius.|| Cicero speaks of laws ascribed to Numa, which were extant in his own time;¶ and the substance of some of these has been transmitted even to us;\*\*\* but they relate chiefly to religious matters. The important law, which even in a trial for murder sanctioned the right of appeal to the people, has been preserved by Livy in the story of Horatius.†† Commentaries of Servius Tullius,‡‡ which contained the

description of the classes and centuries, must have remained, at least in substance, to succeeding generations.\* The benevolent laws, which the traditions of the commons ascribed to Servius, if ever they were enacted, were not preserved, and did not appear in the Papirian Code. Their not appearing was manifestly the foundation of the story, that the very boards on which they were written were destroyed by Tarquinius.† Such were some of the laws of the kings, which were recovered after the burning of the city. To these laws must, no doubt, be added the enactments which were the foundation of popular liberty under the Republic; the laws of Valerius Publicola;‡ the law under religious sanction (Lex Sacrata) for the election of Tribunes of the Commons,§ if this compact between the Patrician and Plebeian orders might not be better described as a treaty; and the laws by which the liberty of the people was restored after the tyranny of the Decemvirs.|| Of all these laws, the Republican laws, which have been last specified, throw most light on the progress of the constitution and the internal history of Rome. Yet even with regard to these we are compelled to regret the want of critical accuracy in the way in which they have been treated by the ancient historians. The language in which they are reported is frequently vague and ambiguous, and in no case have the terms of the laws been made by the historians a ground of argument for ascertaining the previous condition and relations of the different orders of the state. The same remarks may be applied with yet greater force to the national code, the laws of the Twelve Tables. It is not at all to the historians that we owe the little knowledge that we possess of them. From sources perfectly distinct have been gathered some fragments of information respecting those enactments which related to the rights of individuals and the conduct of private suits: that portion, if such a portion there were, which comprised the constitution of the state, has been entirely lost to us. Its character can only be guessed from accidental instances of variation in the use of terms, and from the different complexion of political con-

\* Dionysius professes to report the terms of the former treaty: how truly he has stated them is questionable.

† iii. 26. ‡ Outline of Gen. Hist. ch. xii. § 8.

§ Liv. vi. 1. || Digest i. ii. 2. cf. Dion. iii. 36.

¶ Cic. R. P. ii. 14., v. 2.

\*\*\* See Plut. Num., and Mai, not. 3, on Cic. R. P. ii. 14.

†† i. 26.

‡‡ Liv. 4. 60.

\* Nieb. p. 211.

† Dion. iv. 43. See p. 23. Nieb. p. 371, note 935.

‡ Cic. R. P. ii. 31; Liv. ii. 8.

§ Liv. ii. 33. See Outline of Gen. Hist. ch. xi. § 1. ¶ Liv. iii. 55.



tests in the times which preceded and followed the Decemvirate.\* If then it be granted that in the laws might have been found most solid materials for history, (and this admission must be understood in a limited sense, for the laws could never supply the detail of the events which led to their enactment,) still it will remain not doubtful, that the early history of Rome, such as we have received it, was in no wise built upon this foundation.

iii. The Pontifical Annals recorded of course the names of the Consuls, and probably of the other magistrates, of each year.† If therefore any annals were preserved, the names of the magistrates would be preserved, and in restoring the lost tables the Pontiffs would seek, in the very first instance, for all memorials of the succession of magistrates which were then within their reach; and no doubt documents and evidence might be found at the time, which two hundred years later would have been sought in vain. We need not therefore refuse all belief to these Pontifical Fasti, though uncertainty prevails in many parts of them, especially in the earlier years.‡ An ancient record of the succession of the magistrates, which possibly was anterior to the capture of the city, remained to later ages: the *Linen Books*, consulted by Licinius Macer.§ It appears probable however, as has been already remarked, that but a small fragment of these books was preserved, extending over a space of only ten or twelve years: and moreover, we know that in one instance, whether from the imperfection of the books themselves, or the carelessness of those who referred to them, they were adduced as testimonies to contradictory statements.||

iv. Accounts of the numbers of the people at different times are given by the historians, which they profess to take from records of the Census. There is no direct proof that these returns for the period before the capture by the Gauls are spurious; and it is very possible that the genuine records may have been deposited in the Capitol, and so preserved. It is no argument against this supposition, that these returns are inconsistent with the received history;¶

for surely if they had been forged by any annalist he would have made the numbers suit his story: but the argument is valid, that the common story was not at all formed upon the evidence of the records of the Census.\* Dionysius quotes what he calls *Censorial Memorials*,† which were private documents, preserved in the families of those whose ancestors had been Censors; and they were probably the private notes, from which their public reports were made. Those which Dionysius cites belong to the Census two years before the taking of Rome; even if there were any more ancient, and if they could be relied upon as genuine, (and we have seen that family documents of this date are very open to suspicion,) still they could go back only to the year of the city 312, or 313, when Censors were first appointed, for they were manifestly preserved merely as evidence that some ancestor of the family had borne that office. They would scarcely be so old; for according to Livy the office at first was not held to be very honourable.‡ Before the creation of Censors, the census was held by the consuls; and the memory of a consulship in a family would be preserved by other monuments. These memorials would scarcely have been worthy of so much notice, if a stress had not been laid upon them by the critics who have upheld the credibility of the early Roman History;§ for even for the half century to which they might relate they could furnish the historian with but dry and scanty information.

v. The religious books were documents much more ample and more important; and they were much better known to the early historians. We have already treated of their contents in part; for in them the constitutional laws were anciently preserved;|| and indeed for many years after the decemvirate the pontiffs were the sole guardians and expounders of the law.¶ The religious books were the depositories also of the principles of international law, and of the forms and ceremonies for making peace and declaring war. From them, without doubt, were taken the formularies of the *Fetials*, which Livy has preserved in his first book.\*\* Such forms however could not of themselves supply a narrative of facts; and they were

\* See Nieb. 1st edit. vol. ii. ch. v.

† Serv. ad Æn. i. 373.

‡ For proof of the discrepancies of the Fasti, see p. 38, and Livy, ii. 18, 21, 54.

§ See p. 44.

|| Liv. iv. 23.

¶ See Nieb. p. 435, 6, and Liv. iii. 3 and 24.

\* Nieb. p. 455. † Dion. i. 74. ‡ Liv. iv. 8.

§ Hooke, Rom. Hist. appendix to B. iii.

|| Cic. R. P. ii. 81.

¶ Pomponius in Digest. i. ii. 2.

\*\* Cc. 24, 32, 33. See above, p. 16.

not treated critically by the early historians, so as to be applied to elucidate the received stories. Thus far therefore the ceremonial books of the pontiffs and augurs stand in the same relation to the history with the monuments of the early jurisprudence. Sometimes however it appears as if the form or ceremony were embodied in the narrative of some event.\* Where this was the case, the legend in course of time became a part of the vulgar history. But this authority is not sufficient to place even such detached parts of the story above suspicion, unless it could be shown that the pontifical records were contemporaneous. If this were not the case, we merely go back some links in the chain of tradition. Moreover, there is sometimes reason to suspect that the circumstances of a story have been invented in order to supply an explanation of the origin of some old observance. Of this kind of fiction there is an example in the story of the slave Vindicius.† The inviolability of the *Pomerium* was connected with the death of Remus,‡ and the exemption of Roman matrons from household drudgery was referred to an express stipulation in favour of the ravished Sabines.§ It is obvious also, that the account of a ceremony is usually connected with the first event in the history which supplies an occasion for it; though the religious observance may have been in some cases more ancient, in some more recent. Thus the form of consulting the auspices in the election of a magistrate is described among the circumstances of the appointment of Numa to the kingly office.||

An argument for the existence of sufficient documents for the early Roman history has been founded on the number of religious books of different kinds, ceremonial and prophetic, which seem to have survived the capture of the city. It has been sneeringly asked, how the fire came to distinguish so accurately as to spare the religious monuments and destroy the civil records?¶ The answer is, the religious writings were far more numerous than those which were merely civil. The ancient Romans were an exceedingly superstitious people, and were held in subjection morally and intellectually by their priests. It is true that the priesthood did not make a

distinct tribe or caste, as in Egypt; but the priests and augurs were taken from one hereditary order in the state, from the *Patricians*; and religion was made the instrument of political power. In early Rome therefore, as in all other nations in which similar institutions have prevailed, learning was confined to the priestly order, and the subjects of their learning were the traditions and observances of their superstition. It is no wonder then, if in the scanty literature of the first ages the religious writings much exceeded in number those of any other kind.

The consideration of this peculiar character of the early Roman writings, the pontifical and augural books, will lower our estimate of their value as historical evidence, and make us less regret their imperfect preservation. It is manifest that historical truth would not be their purpose. We cannot, therefore, receive with entire faith those portions of the history which appear to have been drawn from them. Still it is satisfactory in some measure, that we are able to point them out as an important part of the materials of the first historians. It is probable that from them were taken the accounts of the various institutions of the state, and that to them we owe whatever fragments of knowledge we possess of the constitution and laws of Rome in its earliest times.

§ 7. But if the authentic monuments of the early ages of Rome were not sufficient to supply the first historians with the continuous and copious narrative which has been transmitted to us, from what source was it derived? The answer has been already more than once suggested:—from popular tradition. In this there is nothing strange. Popular tradition is the basis of the early native history of every country. For example, the early Grecian history rested upon nothing but popular tradition, till Thucydides undertook to write the history of his own times. The investigation of truth was essential to his peculiar subject. With the same habit of mind he regarded the antiquities of his country; and thus he produced the *Introduction* to his work, which is the earliest specimen of historical criticism.\* What is peculiar in the case of the Roman history is, that by the conflagration of the city those monuments were destroyed, which might in after ages have served

\* As in Liv. i. 24 and 38.

† Above, p. 28. Liv. ii. 5.

‡ Pp. 8 and 20. § P. 10. || Liv. i. 18.

¶ Hooke, vol. ii. 8vo. Appendix to B. iii.

\* Heeren's *Polit. Hist. of Ancient Greece*, ch. 14.



to verify or to correct the popular traditions; and, moreover, by the Gallic conquest the nation was thrown back into a second childhood; the formation of its literature was probably delayed, and the traditions left for a longer time in the mouths of the people, to assume whatever form fancy or passion might give to them. The traditions which relate to the first age of the republic were without doubt many of them family legends; and these will be considered hereafter. But the traditions which relate to the time of the kings are evidently national; for the names of families and private individuals scarcely occur in them. These then were handed down as a national inheritance by the memory of successive generations; and there is reason to believe, that, like the traditions of other nations, they were preserved in a poetical shape.

i. In the earlier and ruder ages of a nation, poetry is not the laborious art of a few solitary minds addressed to educated and critical readers, but a spontaneous outpouring of the national spirit, to which all who listen, listen with a sympathy so thorough and intense, that they are often unconscious of the superior inspiration of the poet. Poets spring up uncounted; their works are impressed upon the national mind, and transmitted from the lips of fathers to their children, and they themselves are unremembered. The obvious subjects of their poems are the achievements and misfortunes of their nation and its heroes. We have traces of such poems even among the tribes who were dislodged by the Israelites from the land of Canaan.\* The Israelites themselves had national poems, of which the subjects were "the wars of the Lord," the victories and deliverances wrought for them by the power of God;† and such are the triumphal songs of Miriam and Deborah. The ancient Persians had songs in which the deeds of their heroes were celebrated, and which formed part of the instruction of their youth.‡ Among the Greeks heroic poetry sprang up in luxuriant abundance. The oldest extant monuments of Grecian genius are the Homeric poems; and it matters little to the illustration of our present argument, whether, with some daring speculators,§

we consider them as a tissue of heroic lays, originally unconnected, and artfully compacted into one body in a later age; or whether with sounder reason we suppose them to have been conceived by the creative mind nearly in the form in which they now exist. In either case they were the product of a comparatively rude age; they were national and popular poems in the widest sense of the words;\* they were chaunted, not written; heard, not read; and for a long course of years were preserved by oral tradition. But in the Homeric poems themselves we find mention of lays yet older. Achilles in his tent, Demodocus in the banquet hall of Alcinous, sang "the Fames of Heroes:"† and the song of Demodocus is taken from a lay, "of which the renown then reached the heaven." These lays were treasures of examples, to which heroes looked for instruction;‡ and the singers themselves were revered as persons blessed with the inspiration of the gods.§ Thus Demodocus and Phemius are welcomed and honoured in the palaces of princes. In his own age Homer cannot have been the only poet; and in later times heroic poems were brought forth in rich profusion; though all the rest have now perished, and left little memorial but their names, while superior genius has made the Homeric poems immortal. There must indeed have been many poets, whose very names are now unknown; but these Cyclian poets, as they were termed, were the sources whence all the later writers of Greece drew their heroic tales, and were the only authorities for the early history. When the race of singers had begun to pass away, a class of men arose (the Rhapsodists), whose profession it was to recite to their crowded audiences the songs of others; and thus the ancient poems were kept alive in the mouths and in the hearts of the people. The Celtic nations had their Bards, who celebrated the exploits of their warriors. The Roman writers bear witness to their high repute among the ancient

nation. The intuitive discernment which enabled Niebuhr to perceive the poetical character of the early Roman traditions must have been imparted by the spirit of Wolf's criticism. See Niebuhr, first edition, c. xvi.: second edition, pp. 216–221.

\* Prof. Heeren considers the common possession of the poems of Homer as one of the chief bonds of national union among the early Greeks. *Political Hist. of Ancient Greece*, c. vii.

† *ῥαῖα ἁνδρῶν*. Il. ix. 189. Od. viii. 73.

‡ Il. ix. 520.

§ Od. viii. 479; xlii. 347.

\* Numb. xxi. 27–30.

† Ib. xxi. 14, 15.

‡ Strabo, xv. 3. 18.

§ This theory is propounded by Wolf in his *Prolegomena to Homer*, a critical work of genius, which throws light on the early poetry of every

Gauls.\* The names of the Welsh bards, Talyessin and Aneurin, are still cherished by their countrymen; and though their poems live no longer in oral tradition, they are preserved from perishing utterly by the safer custody of written language.† Little more than a century has elapsed since, in another extremity of our island, the songs of Ossian might be heard in his own Celtic tongue, though now we must be content to trace them, doubtfully and suspiciously, through their undeserved disguise.‡ Among the German tribes, according to the testimony of Tacitus,§ songs were the only kind of record or annals, and in these they celebrated their gods and the founders of their nation; and in song was preserved the memory of the achievements of their recent champion Arminius.¶ In the lay of the Niebelungen the heroes are the warriors of the army of Attila; and it begins with a reference to "ancient tales, in which many marvels are told of praise-worthy knights of great boldness, of merriments and weddings, of weeping and of mourning, and of bold warriors fighting." Of the same nature were the barbarous and very ancient songs, in which the praises of kings and warriors were sung, which Charlemagne learned himself, and caused to be committed to writing.|| Among the nations of Scandinavia, the Scalds, or poets, were held in the highest honour. They celebrated the exploits of heroes; they were the companions of heroes, and heroes themselves; and their delight is in battles and slaughter. The spirit of their warlike odes may be learned from the famous death-song of Regner Lodbrog.¶ Such songs abounded in old time; and even now a great number of them exists, though they are accessible to none but to those skilled in the ancient Scandinavian language. From these songs Saxo Grammaticus, at the end of the twelfth century, composed the history of Den-

mark, just as Fabius Pictor, according to our hypothesis, drew the materials of his annals from the old songs of Rome; and the resemblance is heightened by Saxo's work abounding in poetical fables and patriotic fictions. He has adhered closely to his poetical authorities, and has frequently translated the ancient songs into Latin verse. A more modern and more critical historian, Torfæus, has cleared away a part of the fabulous antiquities of Saxo; but his history is founded on ancient Icelandic Chronicles; and these chronicles, as he himself argues, were composed from the yet more ancient songs of the Scalds, and therefore differed from Saxo's only by ascending still more nearly to the fountain head.\* The Norwegian Chronicle of Snorro Sturleson is derived from similar poetical sources.

Among the nations of the South of Europe, Spain affords a splendid example of a national heroic poem, the Poem of the Cid; rude indeed in versification, but embodying the very spirit of Spanish chivalry, and presenting a living picture of the events and feelings and manners of the age of its hero.† The poems of Homer have never been equalled; but no poem has so nearly resembled them as the Poem of the Cid, in the intense nationality of its spirit, and in the influence which it has exercised on the historical recollections, the sentiments, and the literature of a great people. Like the poems of Homer, it stands out as an historical monument amidst the uncertainty of antiquity. The events of Spanish history for the three centuries which preceded the age of the Cid,‡ and two centuries which followed it, are comparatively obscure; while the exploits of the Cid Rodrigo were as familiar to his countrymen as household tales. Such a poem could not exist without giving birth to a family of poems of a kindred spirit; and more than a hundred romantic lays have been collected, of which the Cid is the hero. The popular taste of the Spaniards delighted in these historical ballads; and in similar songs were commemorated the adventures of their warriors in the later periods of their struggle with the

\* Ammian. Marc. l. xv. 9. Lucan. l. i. 447. See also Elian. V. H. xii. 23.

† The authenticity of the poems ascribed to Talyessin and Aneurin and Llywarch Hen has been ably vindicated by Mr. Sharon Turner, in a dissertation on the subject.

‡ Mor. Germ. c. 2.

§ Ann. ii. 83.

¶ Eginhard, c. xxix.

|| This death-song, with four other Scandinavian poems, is literally translated in an Appendix to the second volume of Northern Antiquities, translated from "L'Introduction à l'Histoire de Danemarck, &c., par M. Mallet." Or see Turner's Hist. of Anglo Saxons, vol. i. pp. 491-498.

\* Torfæi Series Regum Danicorum, l. i. c. vi. pp. 53-56.

† See Southey's Translation of the Chronicle of the Cid; and specimens of poetical translations from the Poem of the Cid in the Appendix: also Sismondi, Litt. du Midi, ch. xxiii.

‡ The 11th century.



Moors.\* Their ballads have beyond doubt furnished materials to their history; for the Chronicle of Spain, which was written by the King Alphonso the Wise, frequently cites the *Joglaires*, or popular poets.† The Hungarians, the Bohemians, the Servians, the modern Greeks, have their national songs. In a dialect of our own language, Scotland is rich in ballads connected with the traditional history of its great families; and the deeds of Wallace and Bruce were known to the meanest of their countrymen from the poems of Blind Harry and Barbour, before any Scottish historian appeared. A notion of the popular poetry, in which it is probable that the early Roman history was handed down, may be conveyed to the common reader by reminding him of the old tale of Chevy Chase. The fabulous portion of British history, such as it appears in our old chroniclers, Fabyan and Holinshed, the stories of the Trojan Brute and his descendants, of Lear and his daughters, of Cymbeline, of Ferrex and Porrex, and of King Arthur and his Round Table, was borrowed by them from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Geoffrey professed to have taken these stories from an old book in the ancient British language. He has been suspected of invention; but the genuine traditionary character of the most remarkable of these histories, especially of those which relate to Brute and to Arthur, has been ascertained. Many of the stories are essentially poetical; and it is probable that they were originally conceived in a metrical shape. Immediately after their reappearance they were versified in Norman French. The metrical Brut of Maistre Wace exists at this day. Many of them were subsequently reproduced in a poetical form, in the collection entitled the "Mirror for Magistrates." They may serve as examples how national legends may spring up, and gain credence, and be repeated by grave writers, which have not even a shadow of historical truth.

ii. It is manifest from these examples that there is nothing strange or improbable in the supposition, that the history of the first ages of a nation may be derived from its traditionary poems. Rather the case would be strange, and we should be led to seek for some peculiar causes, if we found a people without

such poems, and whose early history, if they had any, was drawn from other sources. Still this induction would be unsatisfactory, if there were no vestiges of such poems among the Romans. But fortunately for our critical knowledge of the nature of their history, though these poems are lost to us, and were even forgotten by the Romans themselves in the more polished age of their literature, we have sufficient evidence of their existence. Cicero states,\* that Cato, to whose authority he attaches the greatest weight, had related in his "Origines,"† that it was the custom of their ancestors at banquets, that those who lay at table should sing in turn to the flute the praises and the virtues of illustrious men. In another passage‡ he marks more distinctly the great antiquity of the custom, and laments the loss of the poems. A similar account is given by Valerius Maximus,§ probably on the same authority. In this description of Cato it is especially worthy of remark, that the songs were sung by each of the guests in turn, and therefore it must be supposed that they were known to every citizen, and were truly national and popular. Varro's representation of the custom was different, and probably should be referred to a somewhat later time, when the songs were less esteemed. He said that there were present at their feasts modest boys (not dissolute hirelings, like the singers of later days) to sing old songs which contained the praises of their ancestors, either to the flute or unaccompanied by music.|| According to both accounts the subjects of the songs are the same; so that it was not without cause, that the Camenæ, the Latin goddesses of song, were said to sing the praises of the ancients.¶ The custom was remembered even in the days of Horace, and the courtly poet proposes to revive it in honour of Augustus.\*\* But we have a reference to these songs of an earlier date, and affording distinct evidence of the mode in which history was indebted to them. Dionysius, in the account of the education of Romulus and Remus, which he borrows from Fabius Pictor, represents the old writer as describing their mien and stature to be such as became the offspring of kings and gods, "as is even now sung by the

\* Tusc. Quest. i. 2; iv. 2. † See p. 44.

‡ Brut. 19. § Val. Max. ii. 1.

|| In Nonius, ii. 70, 'assa voce.'

¶ Festus.

\*\* Od. IV. xv. 29, &c.

\* Sismondi, Litt. du Midi. ch. xlv.

† Southey, Preface to the Chronicle of the Cid.

Romans in the hymns of their country.\* In these songs and ballads therefore the memory of the heroes of old time was kept alive, and from these the traditions were transferred to the annals of the first historians.

There were poems of a somewhat different kind, which may have been preserved, and have furnished some materials to history. These were the *neniæ*, or funeral songs, which were sung to the flute in funeral processions, and recited the praises of the dead.† Though these *neniæ* fell into contempt when they were sung by hired mourners, it cannot be doubted but that in old times they were highly esteemed, as one of the chief honours due to the memory of illustrious men.‡

iii. To some readers the existence of any Roman poetry, anterior to the period when the Romans began to imitate the literature of Greece, may have been scarcely known, and may appear to require more illustration than is afforded by these testimonies. The sacred hymns, such as the songs of the Salian priests and the *Frates Arvales*, must be first mentioned, as the most ancient examples of Roman poetry; so ancient, as to be almost unintelligible in the days of Augustus.§ There were prophetic verses,|| of which a specimen may be seen in the prophecies of Marcius recited by Livy.¶ Horace alludes to a ballad, which had been sung by the old Curii and Camilli, but which in his age was thought fit only for children.\*\* The laws of the Twelve Tables show clearly that there were poets in the age of the Decemvirs; for they contained an enactment against injurious or libellous poems.†† But the most distinct testimony to the existence of an earlier race of poets, and of their heroic or historic lays, is in the lines in which they are disparaged by Ennius, who had himself

undertaken to recount in verse all the wars of Rome from the foundation of the city: "others have written of this matter in verses which of yore Fauns (prophetic deities) and prophets used to chaunt, when no one had climbed the rocks of the Muses, nor was studious of language."\* In these lines Ennius seems to allude, not merely to the rudeness of the language, but to the form of the versification. The old Romans had their native poetical measures, which in their principle and elements were entirely different from the Greek metres, which they afterwards adopted.† The inscriptions, which are read at this day on the coffins of the Scipios in their family monument, appear to be in this native verse; and may not improbably be supposed to be portions of the *neniæ* chaunted at their funerals.‡ The tablets which were fixed in temples as memorials of triumphs were inscribed with verses of the same kind; and lines have been cited from some of them, and preserved to us, in that species of metre which was called Saturnian.§ In this then and the kindred metres the heroic lays of the old poets were fashioned. The last of the old race of poets, and the one whose works were preserved for the longest time, was Nævius, who wrote in Saturnian verse the history of the first Punic war, in which he himself had served. Cicero conceives that Nævius is included in the contemptuous mention which Ennius makes of the poets who preceded him; and his protest against this injustice of the more successful rival, and his honourable

\* Ennius in Cic. Brut. 18, 19.

—Scripsere alii rem

Versibus, quos olim Fauni Vatesque caneabant,  
Quum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam super-  
Nec dicti studiosus erat.

† The Greek metres depended upon the arrangement of syllables pronounced in a longer or shorter time. The ancient Latin verses appear to have depended upon the arrangement of syllables pronounced with a greater or less stress of the voice; and so far to have resembled the measures of the modern European languages. Notwithstanding the opinion of Terentianus Maurus, who ascribes a Greek origin to the Saturnian verse, it can be only by accident that this very ancient and commonly used Latin measure (see Festus) resembled a Greek metre employed occasionally by Archilochus (see however Bentley on Phalaris, § xi). Latterly, (for example, by Nævius,) an effort may have been made to restrict the Saturnian verse to the Greek laws of quantity. It is evident, from the fragments of the early Latin dramatists, that it was long before the ears of the Romans became delicate in their perception of quantity. The subject waits for the illustration which Niebuhr promises, note 636.

‡ Nieb. vol. i. pp. 218, 9.

§ Atilius Fortunatianus in Columella's notes to Ennius. See also Livy, xl. 52.

\* Dion. l. 79.

† Cic. Legg. ii. 24; Festus.

‡ This account of the old national songs of the Romans is taken from Perizonius, *Animadv.* Histor. c. vi., and from Niebuhr, vol. i. pp. 216—221. The passage cited from Dionysius, Niebuhr supposes to contain the words of Dionysius himself, and consequently that songs on Romulus were extant in his time. (note 628): it rather appears a part of the narrative which he has borrowed from Fabius Pictor.

§ Horat. Ep. ii. l. 16. Quinct. l. 6.

|| "Annosa volumina vatium," Hor. Ep. ii. l. 26.

¶ Liv. xxv. 12. See Cic. de Div. l. 50.

\*\* Ep. l. 63.

†† Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex, an puerorum est Nenia, que regnum recte facientibus offert, Et maribus Curulis et decantata Camillis?

†† Cic. Tusc. Q. iv. 2.



judgment of Nævius, make us regret yet more deeply the loss of a work, which would have been the most finished specimen of the genuine poetry of Rome.\* Ennius wrought a great change in the character of Roman poetry; and the celebrity of his annals no doubt occasioned the neglect and the loss of the earlier songs. In his great poem he undertook to write the history of Rome in a continuous narrative from the wanderings of Æneas down to the wars of his own time: just as Ferdoosee undertook to embody in the Shah Namah the traditions and fragments of the records of ancient Persia. How well he was judged to have succeeded is attested by the honours which he received in his life and death. He was deemed worthy of the friendship of the greatest men of Rome; of the Scipios, Africanus, Asiaticus, and Nasica, of Porcius Cato, and of Fulvius Nobilior: though by birth an Apulian Greek, he was enrolled as a Roman citizen; and after his death his image was placed by Africanus in the tomb of the Scipios. By Cicero he is never mentioned but in the most honourable terms; and till the time of Virgil he was esteemed the greatest of the Roman poets. But he claimed to be not merely the greatest, but the first poet of Rome; and his claim was admitted by succeeding generations.† The foundation of this claim was, that he was the chief author by whose example the Romans were induced to forego their native metrical forms and to adopt those of Grecian poetry. Livius Andronicus had exhibited the first play at Rome in imitation of the Greek drama, and (it may be assumed) in the Greek dramatic metres, A. U. C. 513, the year before Ennius was born; but Ennius was the first who naturalized in Latin poetry the Greek epic measure, the Hexameter verse.‡ Succeeding poets followed his example: the Latin metres were disused; and the Greek substituted in their place. It was exactly such a revolution as Juan Boscan and Garcilaso de la Vega effected in Spanish poetry, when they substituted the forms of Italian versification for the old national measures, in which the poem of the Cid and the old romances and ballads were composed. Ennius then, the first and greatest poet of this new and growing school, speedily supplanted in popular

estimation the obsolete lays of the old singers. Besides, his annals were a monument more flattering to the national pride, because they presented in one body the traditions which the songs recorded only in disjointing fragments. This poem was written in the age of the first historians, within the same generation which produced the annals of Fabius Pictor and the *Origines* of Cato. The ancient lays, having assumed these new forms in poetry and prose, were forgotten, and died utterly away.

The length of these old ballads or heroic lays it is scarcely possible to conjecture. The Alban war of Tullus Hostilius, the combat of the Horatii, and the destruction of Alba, may have formed a continuous narrative. The story of the last Tarquinius also may have constituted an epic whole, which would include his cruelties, the assumed idiocy of Brutus, the death of Lucretia, and the expulsion of the tyrants, and must have ended with the great poetical battle of Regillus. The war of Porsena is evidently a separate legend, which the chronologers have thrust into the middle of the other. But the old poems have been too much decomposed, and too intimately blended with other matter, to allow us to trace the connexion of their parts. The poetical continuity which appears in the narrative of Livy, was probably produced by his having the narrative of Ennius present to his mind.

iv. Not only is the character of these legends popular; but there are visible traces in them of the peculiar feelings of the plebeians. The good kings all make assignments of the conquered lands to the people. After Romulus, the founder of the city, a divine origin is ascribed only to Servius, the founder of the rights of the plebeians. The patricians are held up to hatred as taking part in his murder. The chief part among the liberators of their country is assigned to the plebeian, Junius Brutus; and a plebeian name is given to the hero Scævola.\* It is worthy of remark that, in the very last age of the genuine Roman poetry, Ennius, the foreigner and innovator, was patronized by the great, while the native and popular poet Nævius incurred the persecution of the noble Metelli.

§ 8. There is one part of the early

\* Cic. Brut. 19. . . . † Lucr. l. 118.

‡ Isidor. Orig. i. 38.

\* Nieb. vol. 1. p. 221.

Roman history, as it is commonly narrated, to which no allusion has been made hitherto, and which has been purposely reserved to the conclusion of this discussion; its chronology. This cannot be received as true. We have seen that there were no sufficient monuments on which it could be founded; and in itself it is improbable, and indeed impossible.

i. According to Livy and Dionysius, the following periods were assigned to the reigns of the kings:—

To Romulus . . . . .	37 years.
Interregnum . . . . .	1
Numa Pompilius . . . . .	43
Tullus Hostilius . . . . .	32
Ancus Marcius . . . . .	24
Tarquinius the Elder . . . . .	38
Servius Tullius . . . . .	44
Tarquinius Superbus . . . . .	25

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And thus the whole period of the monarchy was 244 years. It was observed by Sir Isaac Newton in his Chronology, that this computation, by which on an average thirty-four years and a little more (according to the lowest account, which I shall mention presently, exactly thirty-four years) are assigned to the reign of each of seven elected kings, of whom four met with violent deaths, and one was expelled before the end of his natural life, is contrary to all analogy and probability. Even in an hereditary monarchy, with all the chances of minorities, it is difficult to find a series of seven kings who fill an equal time. In our own history, the reigns of seven kings, beginning with Henry III., and ending with Henry V., fill only 206 years;\* and this period contains seven generations, and includes two of the longest reigns in our annals; and of the seven kings, five died naturally. Niebuhr observes,† “Whoever wishes to form a notion of what will be the probable mean duration of a magistracy resembling the Roman monarchy, may acquire it from the catalogues of the Venetian doges, during that period when the election did not of set purpose fall on old men, but on persons fit to govern and to command the armies of the state. During five centuries, between 805 and 1311, there were forty doges, so that twelve years and a half fall to the share of each.” The improbability of the times allotted to the kings becomes yet more manifest, when we

examine them particularly. The grandfather of Tullus Hostilius marries his Sabine wife eighty years before his grandson's accession to the kingdom. He is slain in the battle with Tatius;\* and therefore his son, although a citizen of a new state, must have been at least forty years of age before the child of the third generation was born to him. The sons of Ancus Marcius, although they were lads old enough to be sent to hunt, when Tarquinius wished them out of the way at the time of the election of a new king,† yet deferred their vengeance upon the usurper of their hereditary right for thirty-eight years, that is, till they themselves were at least fifty-four years old. The whole history of the Tarquins and of Servius Tullius is full of the grossest inconsistencies in chronology.‡ Tarquinius the Elder came to Rome before the ninth year of Ancus Marcius; for he commanded the cavalry in the Latin war, which the annals referred to that year. He must therefore have been nearly eighty years old when he was murdered; an age at which the sons of Ancus, who had already waited so long, might well have waited for his natural death. His wife, Tanaquil, must have been about seventy-five. Yet he leaves sons, of whom the eldest is not arrived at manhood; and the only resource of Tanaquil to maintain the dignity of her family is to secure the kingdom to Servius Tullius. If we adhere to the chronology rather than to the history, we must allow Tarquinius Superbus to be at least seven-and-twenty at the time of his father's death, when surely he would have been old enough to claim the kingdom if he thought that he had any right to it. Instead of asserting his pretensions, he waits patiently through the long reign of Servius. When he commences his criminal intrigue with Tullia, he must be about sixty-seven; and Tanaquil must have lived a hundred and fifteen years, when, as Fabius related, she mourned for her younger son.§ When Tarquin with the vigour of youth hurled the aged Servius down the steps of the senate-house, he himself was seventy-one. He was ninety-six, when he was warring against Ardea, and was expelled from Rome. Yet after this expulsion he takes an active part in the wars, and fights at the Regillus, when by Livy's chronology he must have been

\* From A.D. 1216 to 1422. † Note, 851.

\* Liv. i. 12. † Dion. iii. 1.

† Liv. i. 35.

‡ See Dion. iv. 6, 7.

§ Dion. iv. 30.



a hundred and six years old; and dies at Cumæ at the age of one hundred and ten years. Dionysius has pointed out all these absurdities; but with his characteristic weakness of judgment he has chosen to consider the chronology as more certain than the facts of the history, and with his characteristic dishonesty he has falsified the old story, and, in opposition to the authority of all the early annalists, he has followed the solitary example of Piso the censor,\* in representing the younger Tarquinius as the grandson, and not the son, of the elder. In the battle of the Regillus he has substituted for the exiled king his son Titus Tarquinius. But the old story is too circumstantial to be thus botched. Tarquinius Collatinus is the son of Egerius, who was the nephew of the first Tarquinius. In order to keep him contemporary with the sons of Superbus, Dionysius (without even the authority of Piso) has transformed him into the grandson of Egerius.† But the mother of Brutus is the daughter of the first Tarquinius;‡ and here Dionysius has forgotten to interpolate his fictitious generation. It is of a piece with the rest of this chronology, that Brutus at the beginning of the reign of Tarquinius Superbus is a child, and after five and twenty years has sons old enough to enter into a treasonable plot.

ii. Whence then came this incongruous chronology? Not from the popular traditions, for traditions never furnish dates; and least of all traditions in a poetical form. It must have come from the books of the pontiffs,§ and have been a figment of their ingenuity. Nor is it impossible to guess the grounds on which it was founded.

In order to understand the following discussion, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the early Romans reckoned their years from the expulsion of the kings, and that the yearly festival by which that event was commemorated (the Regifugium) was held on the 24th of February;|| and that the feast of Palilia, which was esteemed the anniversary of the foundation of the city, was celebrated on the 21st of April.

The battle of the Allia, in which the Romans were defeated by the Gauls,

was fought the day after the Ides of Quinctilis, or in the middle of July. The city was taken a few days afterwards, and remained in the possession of the enemy till the following February. Now it was known from certain memorials of the censors,\* that a census had been held in the second year before the capture of the city, in the consulship of Lucius Valerius Potitus and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, which was described as the hundred and nineteenth year after the expulsion of the kings. It followed therefore, that the capture of the city happened in the hundred and twenty-first year of the republic; and there is no reason for affirming that this date may not be historically true. Now it appears from Cicero's Dialogues on a Republic, that according to the statement of Polybius only thirty-nine years were assigned to the reign of Numa, to whom the later historians give forty-three, and twenty-three instead of twenty-four to Ancus Marcius.† By the older account therefore the time of the kings is made to be two hundred and thirty-nine years; and the capture of the city is placed in the three hundred and sixtieth year from its foundation, and the three hundred and sixtieth year closes soon after the departure of the Gauls. Now it seems as if the pontiffs, in the want of a true chronology, chose to place this period before the destruction and second birth of the city, as being a year of years, a great cycle in which the state had seen the spring and summer and winter of its fortunes, and from the end of which a new period was to commence. That the old Romans, although they knew with tolerable exactness the true length of the year, yet considered three hundred and sixty days as the proper and entire year, and the additional days to be something adventitious and supernumerary, seems to be indicated by the fact, that the intercalations, which their lunar months rendered necessary, were always made after the 23rd day of February, which was their last month, as March was their first; and thus the last five days of February were reserved as a separate portion of time to the end of the year.‡ Moreover, when the expulsion of the kings was made the æra from which the years were reckoned, the opinion that the proper year consisted of three hundred and sixty days,

\* See chap. ii. § 3, 4.

† Dion. iv. 64.

‡ Dion. iv. 68.

§ There is reason to believe that Polybius derived his chronology immediately from the Tables of the Pontiffs. See Nieb. note 606.

|| Ov. Fast. ii. 685.

\* Dion. i. 74. See above p. 49.

† Cic. R. P. ii. 14, 18.

‡ Macrob. Sat. i. 13.

and consequently that the 23rd of February was the last day of it, will account for the festival of the Regifugium being placed on the 24th day of that month, in the face of a tradition which placed the historical event in the month of May, and stated that Brutus offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the goddess Carna on the Cælian Mount on the Calends, that is, the first day, of June.\* That the intention of the pontiffs was to make such a Great Year, or year of years, appears manifestly from the addition which was made to their original computation. Five years were added to the time of the monarchy, which was thus extended, as we have before seen, to two hundred and forty-four years, and the whole period of the first life of the city was made to consist of three hundred and sixty-five years.

This statement of the pontifical chronology has been given from the earliest authorities which we now possess. It would be a very slight variation from it to suppose that a hundred and twenty years were computed for the republic, and two hundred and forty years for the time of the kings; and this account seems to have been given by some writers.† The whole period would thus be divided into shorter periods of one hundred and twenty years each, of which two would be given to the kings and one to the republic. Now there is reason to suspect, that a period of one hundred and twenty years was a cycle connected with the regulation of the old Roman Calendar. Thus much, at least, is certain. The *Lustrum*, or period of five years, was the cycle in which the Religious Year of ten months, by which the Romans reckoned in some cases, was brought round so as to set out afresh from the same point with the Civil Year of twelve months: six years of ten months, or three hundred and four days each, being equivalent, within one day, to five years of twelve months or three hundred and sixty-five days each.‡ Twenty-four years made the cycle, in which the lunar years were brought to agree with the true solar years.§ If, therefore, there were any greater cycle, in which the three species of years were brought to end together, it must have consisted of five times twenty-four, that is, of one hundred and

twenty years. The pontiffs, in their double character of astronomers and historians, may very probably have chosen to divide the early history of their country into three such periods. It is possible that this period was the ancient and proper Roman *Sæculum* or Age; and a tradition of this computation may have been the ground upon which Valerius Antias reported, that the first *Sæcular Games* were celebrated by Valerius Publicola in the first year of the republic. The *Sæculum* of one hundred and ten years was an invention of much later times.\*

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\* This statement will not be satisfactory without a more detailed explanation: and as it is opposed to a part of Niebuhr's work, on which he has bestowed even more than his usual pains, respect for him requires that the grounds of the assertion should be made clear. According to Etruscan superstition, a term of existence was predestined to every nation, comprehending a certain number of periods of human life. The period of the longest duration of human life was called a *Sæculum*. Thus the first *sæculum* of a city ended with the life of the last survivor of those who were born on the day of its foundation; the second *sæculum* with the life of the last survivor of those who had witnessed the termination of the first, and so on in succession. The Etruscans reported, that the termination of every successive *sæculum* of their nation had been announced by divine portents. The Romans assumed a fixed portion of time as a constant *sæculum*, of which they celebrated the termination by the *Sæcular Games*, and sacrifices on an altar, called the *Terentine Altar*, in the *Campus Martius*. If the games were not celebrated after the regular interval, it was through an accidental omission or error of computation, not from design. The intervals of the *Sæcular Games* recorded by historians, and the express testimony of Varro and Livy (Varro, de l. l. v. 2; Varro de Scen. Orig.; and Liv. frag. l. cxxvi. in Censorin. c. 17,) lead to the conclusion, that after the rebuilding of the city a century was considered as a *sæculum*, and the proper period of the games; and that according to the old pontifical chronology, which allowed but three hundred and sixty years before the taking of the city, it was the meaning of the ministers of religion who directed them, to celebrate them in the four hundredth, five hundredth, and six hundredth year of the city; as Claudius afterwards, according to another chronology, celebrated them in the eight hundredth, and Philip in the thousandth year from the foundation. The same notion is implied in the pontifical legends, which assign the first two sacrifices on the *Terentine altar* to the times of Tullius Hostilius, in the Alban war, and of Servius Tullius. (See Censorin. c. 17; Zosim. l. ii.; and Onuphrius Panvinus De Ludis Sæcularibus.) It may be suspected that the period of one hundred and ten years was invented on occasion of the games which were celebrated by Augustus, A. U. C. 737, or at least but a little before. There is no mention of this period before that time, nor on any authority earlier than the forged Sibylline verses (Zosim. l. ii. Horat. Carm. Sæc.). The years in the *Fasti*, to which the *Quindecimviri*, or keepers of the Sibylline Books, assigned the celebration of the *Sæcular Games* (Censorin. c. 17, Nieb. p. 204), were so marked, not historically, but by a back reckoning; for beyond all question, the genuine Commentaries of the keepers of the Sibylline Books must have been burned when the Sibylline Books themselves were burned, in the conflagration of the Capitol in the civil wars, A. U. C. 670. Niebuhr has observed, that if from the year 299,

\* Macrob. Saturn. i. 12.

† Euseb. Chron. in Nieb. v. 205.

‡ Nieb. v. 4; pp. 236, 7.

§ Liv. i. 19. Macrob. Sat. i. 13.



Of the number of years allotted to each king it is difficult to offer a satisfactory explanation. Niebuhr has pointed out, as a mark of fabrication, how nearly the middle of the reign of Ancus Marcius, the middle king, coincides with the middle of the kingly period.

iii. We will now proceed to examine the dates assigned for the foundation of the city. The reader must remember, that the first Olympiad is supposed to begin from the Midsummer of 776, B.C., and that the Olympiads were reckoned from Midsummer to Midsummer.\*

According to Varro, in which the xv viri placed the first Secular Games, two *seculæ* of one hundred and ten years be reckoned backward, they bring us to the year 78; but that according to the chronology of Polybius, Fabius, and the pontiffs, the year 78 was the first year of the reign of Tullus Hostilius; and thus an explanation is furnished of the tradition, that Numa Pompilius was born on the day of the foundation of Rome: it means, that according to the Etruscan belief the first *seculum* of the city ended at the time of his death. (Nieb. pp. 204—208.) It must be confessed that the story of Numa's birth on the birth-day of Rome seems unmeaning, unless Niebuhr's interpretation be attached to it; but to the coincidence of dates, and the consequences derived from it, Niebuhr himself has furnished the refutation, that the dates are according to different chronologies. The seventy-eighth year of Varro was five years before the death of Numa, according to the reckoning of Fabius; nor is Niebuhr's explanation of this discrepancy satisfactory. Scaliger has endeavoured to show that the *seculum* of one hundred and ten years was a period or cycle connected with the regulation of the calendar. (Scaliger, *De Emendat. Temp.* l. ii. pp. 180—183. Nieb. vol. i. pp. 234—244.) Now it must be premised, with regard both to his theory and the theory proposed in the text, that the hypothesis that the *seculum* was an astronomical cycle, designed for the correction of the calendar, is not sanctioned by any ancient author, and must stand upon its own internal probability. Scaliger however in making twenty-two years to be the cycle of lunar and solar years, from which he deduces that the *seculum*, or greater cycle, must have been five times twenty-two or one hundred and ten years, has rejected the detailed explanation of Macrobius, and the express authority of Livy, who make the cycle twenty-four years, without any warrant from ancient writers, and solely on the strength of his own ingenuity; and, moreover, according to Scaliger's own arguments and calculations, the cycle is completed not in twenty-two, but in forty-four years, and therefore the greater cycle ought to be, not one hundred and ten, but two hundred and twenty years. The arguments of Niebuhr, which involve the assumption that the Etruscans and ancient Romans knew the length of the year to a greater degree of exactness than three hundred and sixty-five days six hours, are worth very little. It would be easy to oppose to them calculations by which it would appear that a cycle of one hundred and twenty years would afford opportunity for intercalations still more accurate. It appears that the *Quindecimviri* in the time of Augustus, when the Emperor had resolved to celebrate the *Secular Games*, found the first historically recorded games assigned to the year of the city 406, or 407, or 408, according to different chronologies, and thence determined such a period as would justify the emperor in celebrating them in A. U. C. 737. Perhaps they struck a mean between the civil *seculum* of a hundred years, and the old astronomical cycle of a hundred and twenty years.

\* Outline of General Hist. ch. v. § 4.

The capture of Rome by the Gauls was known in Greece, and mentioned within a few years by Greek writers.\* This is not surprising; for the migration of the Gauls threatened destruction even to the Greek cities in Italy. It was reported that the capture took place, while the elder Dionysius was besieging Rhegium.† The date of the event, therefore, was fixed according to the Greek chronology; and it was referred by most writers to the first year of the 98th Olympiad;‡ that is, the battle of the Allia and the taking of the city happened in the very beginning of that Olympic year, in July, B.C. 388; and the city was evacuated by the Gauls before the end of that Olympic year, but in February, B.C. 387. According to the computation, by which three hundred and sixty years of the city were held to be completed at the Palilia in Ol. 98..1, or April, B.C. 387, the city must have been founded in Ol. 8..1, (or B.C. 747), and this was the calculation of Fabius Pictor.§ By the computation which reckoned three hundred and sixty-five years from the Palilia of Ol. 98..1, the foundation of the city must have been placed in Ol. 6..4, (or B.C. 752), and this method was followed by the author of the "*Capitoline Fasti*."|| Cato, according to Dionysius, placed the foundation of Rome in Ol. 7..1; and this date is commonly considered by modern chronologers as equivalent to B.C. 751. But Cato did not himself determine his date by Olympiads; but merely placed the foundation of Rome

\* Plut. Camill.

† Hist. of Greece, ch. vii. Sect. iii.

‡ Dion. i. 74. Niebuhr observes, that the majority decided for Ol. 98..1, the archonship of Pyrgion; Polybius and Diodorus for Ol. 98..2, (vol. i. p. 227). The latter part of this assertion seems erroneous. The expression of Polybius is,—"The year had begun (and Polybius reckons the year from the first of January) in which the Lacedæmonians ratified the peace of Antalcidas," (which is ascertained by Clinton in the *Fasti Hellenici* to be B.C. 387, in the middle of which Ol. 98..2 began), "and in which the Gauls, after having taken by force Rome itself, were holding possession of it." Diodorus (l. xiv. c. 107 to end) relates, that Dionysius began the siege of Rhegium before the 98th Olympiad, that the siege lasted eleven months, and that during the siege Rome was taken and occupied by the Gauls.

§ Dion. i. 74 in MS., and Solinus.

|| The *Capitoline Fasti* are a chronological record of the magistrates, triumphs, &c., of every year of the city, engraven on marble, of which fragments have been dug up at Rome. These have been recomposed, and are still preserved. Onuphrius Panvinus, in the preface to his *Fasti*, endeavours to shew, that they are the very *Fasti* which were engraven by the learned grammarian, Verrius Flaccus, in the age of Augustus, and which are mentioned by Suetonius, *De Illust. Gramm.* § 17.

four hundred and thirty-two years after the taking of Troy,\* which, according to the Greek chronologers, happened four hundred and seven or four hundred and eight years before the first Olympiad.† Now it is plain that Dionysius, who himself pronounced that Rome was founded in Ol. 7..1, and who evidently designed that his calculation should agree with Cato's,‡ denotes the years of the city, and even the consular years, by the Olympiad which began in them, not by the Olympiad in which they began. Unless this interpretation of his language be admitted, he must be accused of a gross blunder in his calculations, where he states that Rome was taken in the first year of the 98th Olympiad, that this was the hundred and twenty-first year of the republic, and that a hundred and twenty years were fully ended, and yet concludes that the first consuls entered on their office in the first year of the 68th Olympiad, although the capture of Rome followed the season of the Olympic games, and the Regifugium preceded it. If we allow this interpretation, he will appear to mean, that the first consuls entered on their office towards the close of Ol. 67..4 (or in B.C. 508); and this will agree exactly with the calculation of Polybius, who places the expulsion of the kings twenty-eight years before the passage of Xerxes into Greece; that is, before the Spring of B.C. 480.§ Moreover, it is in this sense only that he could say that Rome was founded in the *beginning* of the first year of the 7th Olympiad.|| The date therefore of Cato and of Dionysius is Ol. 6..4. Polybius placed the foundation of the city in Ol. 7..2; that is, B.C. 750. He arrived at this conclusion, notwithstanding the years which he assigned to the several kings, by making an allowance for the interregnums.¶ As he is three years earlier than Fabius, he must have allowed a year for each interregnum after the deaths of Numa, of Tullus, and of Ancus Marcius, just as all the annalists placed a year between Romulus and Numa. In this he showed his usual accuracy; for Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Su-

perbus took possession of the kingdom without any interregnum. The learned antiquary Terentius Varro, whose chronology was generally followed by the later Romans, and has been adopted by most modern writers, by some peculiar calculation placed the taking of the city in Ol. 97..3 (or B.C. 390); reckoned this the three hundred and sixty-fourth year of the city; and so assigned the foundation to Ol. 6..3 (or B.C. 753).\*

There is another calculation of the date of the foundation of the city, which is apparently different, but which, probably, rests really upon the same grounds as the preceding. L. Cincius supposed Rome to have been founded about the fourth year of the 12th Olympiad.† Niebuhr has pointed out with great ingenuity, that, according to the older statement of the lengths of the reigns, the sum of the reigns before the elder Tarquinius is one hundred and thirty-two years; that according to Junius Gracchanus, a most learned Roman antiquary, it was by Tarquinius that the year of twelve months was substituted for the year of ten months;‡ consequently, if Cincius, who carefully investigated the antiquities of his country,§ supposed the one hundred and thirty-two years before Tarquinius to be religious years of the old measure, he would consider them equivalent to one hundred and ten common solar years, and would be led to subtract twenty-two years from the common reckoning; and in fact, if twenty-two years be subtracted from the date of Polybius, who places the foundation in Ol. 7..2, the resulting epoch is exactly Ol. 12..4. The indefiniteness in the expression of Cincius, "*about* the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad," may have been occasioned by the consideration of the interregnums, to which Polybius allowed three years.

§ 9. We have thus gone back step by step, examining the authorities of the early Roman history, and we find it to be mainly delivered from two distinct sources, which correspond to the two orders of the people. In nations where an hereditary or exclusive priesthood has maintained itself, the early history is commonly nothing but an arbitrary

\* Dion. i. 74.

† Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, Introduct. p. lii.

‡ Dion. i. 71, 74. li. 2.

§ Pol. iii. 22.

|| *Ἰτους ἐκστάτος πρώτου τῆς ἰσθμίας Ὀλυμπιάδος.* Dion. i. 71. So Solinus:—"Collatis nostris et Græcorum temporibus, invenimus incipiente Olympiade septimâ Romam conditam." See Scal. De Emend. Temp. l. v. p. 387.

¶ Cic. R. p. ii. 30.

\* In this history the years of Rome will be reckoned from the Palilia, or 21st April, in B.C. 752, a little before the end of Ol. 6..4. The dates, therefore, will be those of the Capitoline Fasti, and will, in general, be one year higher than by the vulgar Catonian Chronology, one year lower than by the Chronology of Varro.

† Dion. i. 74.

‡ Censorin. c. 20.

§ See ch. ii. § 3..2.



chronological outline, in which are comprehended memorials of institutions and events connected with religious observances. Where the mind of a people has not been cramped by such a dominant order, the native early history has commonly developed itself in the form of popular traditions, and often of popular poems. The twofold state of Rome possessed both kinds of history. The religious books were the property of the Patricians; the traditionary poems were probably cherished by the Plebeians or Commons. That the two streams of history were at first thus separate and independent, will appear still more probable, when in the course of the history the distinction between the Patricians and Plebeians shall have been more clearly developed. As by the progress of civil institutions the two orders were blended into one people, so in the annals of the first historians the two kinds of materials were compounded into one narrative. This narrative has been transmitted to us through successive writers; without any essential change; and now that we have ascertained the sources from which it is derived, we cannot be accused of unreasonable incredulity, if we proceed to examine it in detail, and refuse our belief to it, except where it is confirmed by other evidence, or strongly supported by its internal consistency and credibility.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *On the Early Population of Italy.*

- §1. The Iberians. §2. The Ligurians—Collision of the Iberians, Ligurians, and Gauls. §3. The Veneti—The Illyrians. §4. The Umbri. §5. The Pelasgians—Pelasgians in Greece—Hellenes—Tyrseni in Greece—Pelasgians in Italy—Tyrseni in Italy—Enotrians—Siculi. §6. The Etruscans. §7. The Sabines, and Sabellian nations. §8. The Ausonian nations—Volsci and Æquil. §9. Tribes in Apulia. §10. The Latins—Alba.

THE first step towards a critical examination of the Roman History will be to collect, and to present briefly, whatever information can now be gathered respecting the early population of Italy, the successive changes among the nations which anciently possessed the country, and their state at the time of the origin of Rome.\* In taking this survey, it will be necessary, at some points, to include in our view the adjacent regions of southern Europe. Even where these digressions

appear to lead us out of sight of the infant city, they cannot be considered as irrelevant to our main purpose: since the history of Rome ultimately comprehends the history, not only of Europe, but of the whole ancient world.

§1. The Iberians are commonly accounted one of the most ancient nations of the west. They inhabited Spain; and they were supposed to have been named from the river Iber or Iberus (the Ebro). But if we may trust to a writer who derived his information from the oldest Greek and Punic geographers,\* the first country which they were reported to have occupied was on the south-west coast of Spain, between the rivers Ana and Tartessus, (Guadiana and Guadalquivir). Here dwelt the Herbi (whose name seems only another form of Iberi); and when that tribe was destroyed or dislodged, the name Iberus still remained to the river, which divided their territory from the Tartessians.† This position of the Iberians leads to the conclusion, that they originally immigrated from Africa, as the Saracens or Moors in a later age; and it can easily be discovered from the notices of Avienus, that the course of the migrations of the ancient tribes along the coast of Spain was from south to north. Scymnus Chius expressly mentions the tradition of an Æthiopian settlement in these regions, in the island Erytheia.‡

\* Rufus Festus Avienus lived in the latter part of the fourth century of the Christian era. He translated into Latin hexameter verse the geographical poem of Dionysius Periegetes; and afterwards composed a poem in Latin iambic verse, entitled "Ora Maritima," which comprised a description of all the coasts of the Mediterranean to the very recesses of the Euxine. It was introduced by a description of the Atlantic ocean, and of the western coast of Spain. In this work his design was to give the names and to describe the inhabitants of all the regions which he enumerated, not as they existed in his own time, but as they appeared in the writings of the most ancient geographers. He premises the names of the Greek authors from whom he drew his materials, Hecateus, Hellanicus, Scylax, Phileas, Damastes, &c.; and besides these, it is evident, by his very accurate description of the rise and course of the Rhone, that he derived information from the writings of some native of Massilia (Marseilles). He appears likewise to have had some knowledge of the Punic language and literature, if not from the fountain-head, from the learned Mauritanian prince Juba. In particular, he quotes more than once the voyage of the Carthaginian Himilco along the northern shores of the Atlantic ocean; a voyage which is supposed to have been performed in very early times, probably in the fifth or sixth century before the Christian era. (See Plin. N. H. II. 67.) Only a mutilated fragment of the first book of the "Ora Maritima" remains; but it is a very curious and valuable monument of antiquity. It is printed in the fourth volume of Hudson's *Geographi Minores*, † Scym. Ch. v. 156. These would be the Tartessians, the Turdetani of the Romans, and of Strabo; Iberes, p. l.

\* A summary of this information is given in chap. ix. of the "Outline of General History." In this more detailed account, as well as in the summary, we have been mainly guided by the introductory chapter of Niebuhr.

‡ Scym. Ch. v. 156. These would be the Tartessians, the Turdetani of the Romans, and of Strabo;

We know from a very old authority, that the Rhone, which river was in fact the boundary of the Iberians and Ligurians, was esteemed by those who dwelt upon its banks the limit between Libya and Europe :\* and this opinion is scarcely to be explained, unless we suppose a belief to have prevailed of the Libyan origin of the Iberians.†

Whatever was the origin of the Iberians, they not only possessed Spain, but were spread even beyond the Pyrenees, over Aquitaine,‡ and to the Rhone.§ Æschylus placed the Rhone itself in Iberia.|| On the one side they were supposed to have crossed the sea to the British Islands.¶ On the other side, they extended themselves to the Balearic Islands, to Corsica, to Sardinia, and to Sicily.\*\* The Iberian tribe in Sicily were called Sicani; a name which is perhaps a form of the national appellation Hispani, by which the Romans learned to designate the people of Spain, whom the Greeks termed Iberes. The Sicani accounted themselves indigenous in Sicily: but Thucydides states that the truth was found to be, that they were Iberians, and that they had been dislodged from the river Sicanus in Iberia by Ligurians.†† Avienus places the Sicani and the river Sicanus in a situation which corresponds with the place of the river Suero (now the Xucar),‡‡ but he cites no authority; and it is difficult to conceive that Ligurians should have penetrated so far southward along the Spanish coast, especially as aggressors upon the Iberians. The Sicani imparted their name to the island in which they settled; and it was called Sicania.§§ But they did not maintain themselves in undisturbed possession. The Elymi settled among them; a people whom the Cœnотri dislodged from the Southern part of Italy;||| and at a later time the Siceli passed over from Italy, and drove back the Sicani to the southern and western extremities of the island.¶¶ Whether any Iberian

tribe settled on the mainland of Italy is doubtful. Virgil speaks of Sicani as an ancient tribe dwelling near the Tiber:\* it is possible, however, that he may have confounded the Sicani with the Siculi or Siceli. Pliny enumerates Sicani among the ancient tribes of Latium dependent upon Alba (Populi Albenses).†

§ 2. The Ligurians (the Ligyes of the Greeks, the Ligure of the Romans) were a very ancient people, and long preserved their national existence. The Ligurians, whom the Romans attacked for the first time in the interval between the first and second Punic wars,‡ and who maintained for many years a generous struggle for their independence, possessed only the ridge of the Maritime Alps and of the Apennine, with the declivities on both sides, to the region where the Apennine diverges from the coast, and turns towards the interior of Italy. In the division of Augustus the boundaries of the Ligurian coast were the rivers Varus (Var) on the West, and Macra (Magra) on the East. But in early times the Ligurians were far more widely spread. Traces of them were to be found on the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and of the Adriatic sea; and they extended themselves from the Alps southward, on the one side beyond the Pyrenees, on the other to the Tiber. In collecting the evidence of the wide diffusion of this great and ancient people, it will be convenient to begin on the western side of the Alps, and point out the countries which they occupied beyond the limits of Italy.

On the western declivity of the Maritime Alps, Strabo, even in the age of Augustus, reckoned the Albienses and the Albicœci among the Ligurians.§ To these, on the authority of the Triumphal Fasti may be added the neighbouring tribe of the Vocontii.|| Pliny held the Sallyi, Deceates, and Oxybii, tribes upon the coast, to be Ligurians.¶ Strabo is more cautious; and informs us that later writers called the Salyes (Sallyi), who extended along the coast a little further than Massalia (Marseilles), Celto-Ligyes (that is, Gallo-Ligurians), from the intermixture of the Gaulish population; but that the earlier Greeks called them Ligyes, and the country which the Massaliots occupied, Ligystic, or Ligurian; and assigned to them

who seem to have been the people who impelled the proper Iberians northward.

\* Av. Or. Mar. v. 685—8.

† The traditions of the passage of Hercules with an army through Libya into Iberia, which were told in Carthaginian books, (Sall. Bell. Jug.) as well as in the legends of the Greeks, (Diod. Sic. L. IV.) relate probably to migrations from Africa into Europe. The latter part of the Carthaginian story reverts the migration, which is not an uncommon change in such traditions.

‡ Strabo, iv. 1.

§ Scylax, p. 2.

¶ Plin. xxxvii. 2. probably in Prom. Solut.

‡ Tac. Agric. c. 11. \*\* Nieb. pp. 142—144.

†† Thuc. vi. 2. ‡ Av. Or. Mar. v. 479.

‡‡ Odys. xxiv. 306. Herod. vii. 170.

§§ Hellenicus in Dion. i. 22.

¶¶ Thuc. vi. 2. Diod. Sic. v. 6.

\* Æn. vii. 795. viiii. 328. xi. 317.

† Plin. N. H. III. 5.

‡ Liv. Epit. L. xx., A. U. C. 516.

§ iv. 6. 4. ¶ Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. i. p. 106.

¶ N. H. iii. 5.



all the plain as far as the Rhone.\* This agrees with the account of Scylax, who makes the Rhone the limit of the pure Ligurians.† Avienus fixes the same limit:‡ and the same must have been supposed by Æschylus.§ Herodotus also speaks of the Ligyes who dwell above Massalie:|| and here we may observe that from this Grecian colony the Greeks might derive a correct knowledge of the neighbouring people. Beyond the Rhone, as far as Emporium, a Massalian settlement on the coast a little beyond the Pyrenees, dwelt, according to Scylax, mingled tribes of Ligurians and Iberians. Among these it is worthy of note that Avienus places the Elisyces,¶ whom Herodotus enumerates along with the Iberians and Ligurians, among the tribes from which the Carthaginians levied their army to attack Sicily in the time of Gelon,\*\* and whom Hecataeus expressly called a Ligurian people.†† The chief city of this warlike tribe was Naro, apparently the Narbo of the Romans (Narbonne). Scymnus Chius‡‡ also places Ligurians between the Pyrenees and the borders of the Iberians. But none are expressly mentioned south of Emporium, except those who expelled the Sicani. But it was not only along the coast that the Ligurians in ancient times inhabited the regions beyond the Rhone. It appears that at a still earlier period they possessed the inland country, and had come down upon the coast from Mount Setyus, the highest ridge of the Cæmænic range (the Cévennes).§§ And in times yet more early, if we may trust to the report which has been transmitted to us from the Carthaginian navigator Himilco, they dwelt upon the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and were driven thence into the mountains, whence they descended to the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, by the overpowering pressure of the Celts or Gauls.|||| It is

evident that this tradition places them upon the banks of the river Ligyr\* or Liger (the Loire). Hence we are furnished with an explanation of the account, which derived the name of the people from a river Ligyr, and which has perplexed the critics, who sought in vain for such a river in Italy;† and the very notice of such a derivation serves in some measure to confirm the tradition of Himilco.

We have traced the Ligurians to their utmost extent on the western side of the Alps. We must now return to the eastern or Italian side. Here they appear to have occupied the plains about the Po, especially on its northern bank, to the very shores of the Adriatic sea. If the evidence of their possession of the lower grounds is scanty or uncertain, it must be remembered, that in the very early times, of which we are seeking the monuments, much of this alluvial country must have been an uninhabitable fen; that it was afterwards occupied by the Etruscans; and that they, after a period of flourishing empire, were in their turn dispossessed by the Gauls. The strongest evidence of the early diffusion of the Ligurians over the whole basin of the Po is, that in later ages they maintained themselves in the surrounding mountains on every side. On the south, the main body of the nation, who held the ridge of the Apennines, retained their national name; but we can trace their scattered tribes under other names round the circle of the Alps on the North: and if we are able to do this, we may reasonably conclude, that they were spread likewise over the plains below, till they were dislodged by the Etruscans, the Veneti, and the Gauls.

If then we begin from the Maritime and Cottian Alps, we find that the Caturiges on the very ridge are named by Pliny as a Ligurian tribe, and their connexion with the Vagienni in the proper

\* lv. 6. 3.

† Scylax, p. 2. The geographical work, which bears the title of the Peripus of Scylax, is a description of the coasts of the Mediterranean sea. It seems to be compiled from the works of different writers, but is all anterior to the age of Alexander, B. C. 336. ‡ Av. Or. Mar. v. 610.

§ Prom. Sol. in Strabo, lv. l. 7.

¶ Her. v. 9. ¶ Or. Mar. v. 585.

\*\* vil. 165. B. C. 480. †† Steph. Byz.

‡‡ "Scymnus, late as he lived, is the representative of Timæus and other ancient writers."—Nieb. p. 31.

§§ Av. Or. Mar. v. 623.

|||| Av. Or. Mar. vv. 120—145.

Si quis dehinc

Ab insulis Oestrymnicis lembum audeat

Urgere in undas, axe qua Lyeaonis

Rigescit æthra, cespitem Ligurum subit,

Cassum incolarum: namque Celtarum manu

Crebrisque dudum præliis vacuata sunt:  
Liguresque puls, ut sæpe foris aliquos agit,  
Venere in ista, quæ per horrentes tenent  
Plerumque dumos. Creber his scrupus locis,  
Rigidaque rupes atque montium minæ  
Cælo inseruntur. Et fugax gens hæc quidem  
Diu inter arcta cautum duxit diem,  
Secreta ab undis; nam sali metuens erat  
Priscum ob periculum: post, quis et otium,  
Securitate roborante audaciam,  
Persuasit altis devehit cubilibus,  
Atque in marinos jam locos descendere.

The Oestrymnic Islands appear to be at the northern point of Galicia, v. 90, &c. It must be observed that there is a great gap in the "Ora Maritima" after the beginning of v. 88.

\* Ligyr, so spelt by Strabo, IV. l. 1.

† Steph. Byz. from the geographer Artemidorus, who flourished about 110 B.C.

Liguria, is distinctly noticed.\* Below these were the Taurini, who possessed the modern Piedmont, and who were acknowledged by common consent to be a Ligurian race.† It is worthy of note that these Taurini were by Polybius called Taurisci.‡ The name Taurisci was more commonly applied to an ancient tribe at the opposite extremity of the Alpine chain, on the southern slope of the Carnian Alps, upon the borders of Noricum.§ These Taurisci are not unfrequently confounded with the Gallic tribes: but they were separated from the Gauls on the Po by the intervention of the Venetian territory; and it appears more probable that they were in fact Ligurian. This is indicated, not only by the affinity of the names Taurisci and Taurini, but by the singular circumstance, that the Taurisci, who were carried down the valley of the Danube into Thrace in the stream of the Gallic migration, were also called Ligyrisci.|| To the Tauric or Tauriscan race, that is, to the Ligurians, belonged, in the opinion of Cato, the Salassi and the Lepontii:¶ the Salassi on the north of the Taurini, at the foot of the Graian and Pennine Alps (the Mountains St. Bernard); the Lepontii on the north-east of the Salassi, running back deep into the mountains, and including in their territory the sources of the Rhone and the Rhine.\*\* In the plains below the Taurini and Salassi, the Lævi, a Ligurian tribe, dwelt about the river Ticinus;†† and the Lævi, with the Marici, who were also Ligurians, founded the city Ticinum (Pavia).‡‡ The Libui, Libici, or Lebecii (for they are mentioned by these various names) inhabited the same regions, and were a kindred people, deriving their origin from the Salluvii or Salyes, Ligurians beyond the Alps. Vercellæ was their chief town.§§ The Lævi and Libui were in later times accounted Gauls; ||| of course from the intermixture and predominance of the Gallic population. Novaria, near Vercellæ, was likewise, according to Cato, a Ligurian town. Its founders were the Vertacomatori, a Ligurian tribe, inhabitants of a portion of the district occupied by the Vocontii. It appears that Cato

had recognized the Ligurian character of the Vocontii, which in the time of Pliny was obliterated. A part of the Libui were settled, before the Gallic immigration, considerably to the west of the Ticinus, in the region about the lake Benacus (L. of Garda), where stood in historical times the cities Brixia and Verona.\* The mountainous country northward from the lake remained in the possession of the Euganei. Of this ancient and once powerful people Cato was still able to enumerate thirty-four towns;† and they were reported by tradition to have inhabited all the country between the Alps and the Adriatic sea, till they were driven into the mountains by the Veneti.‡ Their chief tribe was the Stoni or Stœni;§ and the Stœni are expressly named Ligurians in a fragment of the *Triumphal Fasti*,|| and by the geographer Stephanus.¶ If the Euganei were Ligurians, then the tradition, that Verona was a settlement of the Ræti and Euganei,\*\* is consistent with the account which places it in the territory of the Ligurian Libui. On the east the Euganei bordered on the Taurisci of Noricum; on the west their tribes, the Triumphilini and the Camuni, extended as far as the lake Sebinus (L. d'Iseo) and the river Ollius (Oglio).†† We have therefore found vestiges of a Ligurian population along the whole range of the Alps, except in the interval between the Lepontii and the Camuni, that is, between the lake Verbanus (Lago Maggiore) and the lake Sebinus. But the mountains and mountain passes in this very interval were the seats of the Ræti, a powerful Alpine people, who were either the remnant of the fugitive Etruscans, dislodged by the Gauls from the plains about the Po, or (as will be shewn hereafter to be more probable), the parent stock from which the Etruscans were sprung, and from whose ancient fastnesses they descended as conquerors into the plains of Italy. In this region, therefore, it was most likely that all remains of the Ligurians should be swept away.‡‡ It remains to be observed only that Strabo enumerates the Le-

\* Plin. N. H. iii. 20 (24).

† Strabo, iv. 6. Plin. iii. 17 (21).

‡ Pol. ii. 15. Steph. Byz.

§ Strabo, iv. 6. Plin. iii. 19 and 20, (23 and 24).

|| Strabo, v. 1, 6. viii. 3, 2.

¶ Plin. iii. 20 (24).

\*\* Cæs. B. G. iv. 7.

†† Liv. v. 35. ‡‡ Plin. iii. 17 (21). §§ Plin. ib.

|| Liv. xxi. 38. Polyb. ii. 17.

\* Liv. v. 35. † Plin. iii. 20 (24). ‡ Liv. i. 1.

§ Plin. iii. 20 (24). || Cluv. It. Ant. p. 106.

¶ Steph. Byz. Στόνους, πόλις Λιγυρίας.

\*\* Plin. iii. 19 (23).

†† Plin. iii. 19 and 20. Cramer's Italy, vol. i. p. 74.

‡‡ About the lake of Como dwelt the Orobii, an ancient tribe, whose origin Cato could not ascertain (Plin. iii. 17). They were therefore not Etruscans. Their name may remind us of the river Orobis, in a region which we have seen to be Ligurian, a little east of Narbo.



pontii on the one side, and the Stoni and Tridentini, Euganean tribes, upon the other side, with other small Alpine nations, as having in former times held possession of Italy.\*

If we examine how far the Ligurians extended towards the south, we shall find that in the time of Polybius their southern boundary was the river Arno; that along the coast they reached to the city of Pisa, and along the ridge of the Apennines to Arretium.† Pisa was then the most western city of Etruria. It is true that on the coast, between the Macra and the Arno, the Ligurians had at this time encroached upon the Etruscans in consequence of the decline of the Etruscan power.‡ But it is probable that they only recovered what they had possessed in a former age.§ In the mountains it is not unlikely that the Ligurians may have maintained themselves from the earliest times. Their extension thus far southward along the Apennines is worthy of notice, since it must have brought them into contact with the Umbrians (upon whom Dionysius expressly affirms that they bordered) ||; and have placed them in the upper part of the valley of the Tiber. There is nothing unreasonable in the conjecture that the tribes of the more southern branches of the Apennines may have been at least of kindred race. Ancient tradition placed Ligurians even on the site of Rome itself. From this spot they are said to have expelled the Siculi, and to have been themselves in turn expelled by the Sacrani.¶ In another version of the story, the Sacrani are described as a tribe which came originally from Reate, and expelled both Ligures and Siculi from Septimontium;\*\* an old name of the hilly district on which the most ancient part of Rome was built.†† Another story even identified the Siculi and Ligurians. According to the Syracusan historian Philistus, ‡‡ the Siceli (the Siculi of Latin writers), who passed from Italy

into Sicily, were Ligurians dislodged from their own country by the Umbrians and Pelasgians.\* This account, it must be acknowledged, agrees with the detail, which Dionysius has pieced together from various writers, of the wars of the Siceli with the Umbrians, Pelasgians, and Aborigines; and if we receive it as historical, we must of course suppose that the Ligurians had extended themselves throughout the whole length of Italy. But, as Niebuhr has shown, there is some reason to believe that the Siceli were a Pelasgian tribe.† If this hypothesis be well founded, we have no testimony that the Ligurians penetrated further south than to the left bank of the Tiber. It is not difficult to guess how the story of Philistus may have arisen. Probably it was supposed that the Sicani had passed into Sicily out of Italy, as the Siceli did afterwards; it was known that the Sicani had been dislodged by Ligurians; and therefore it seemed reasonable to suppose that the people which followed them in the succession of migrations was Ligurian. That Ligurians passed into Corsica is in itself more probable, and is attested by more satisfactory evidence.‡

All that can be known of the early history of the Ligurians may be gathered from what has been already stated. If the Euganei were in truth Ligurians, they were cut off from the main body of their nation by the irruption of the Tuscans or Etruscans, who occupied the central regions of Northern Italy; whether these, according to the hypothesis adopted by Niebuhr, descended from the Rætian Alps;§ or whether, according to the more common opinion, they spread themselves in the opposite direction from the shores of the Mediterranean sea. The pressure of the Etruscans on the east drove the Ligurians within the western banks of the Ticinus and of the Macra. This was probably the relative position of the two nations at the time of the foundation of Rome. Beyond the Alps, at a still earlier time, the Ligurians had come into collision with the Iberians. It seems as if at first they had encroached upon the Iberians, and subsequently had been forced to recede before them. If

\* Strabo, iv. 6, 6.

† Polyb. ii. 16.

‡ Liv. xii. 13.

§ Strabo, v. 2, 5.

|| Dion. i. 10.

¶ Serv. on *Æn.* xi. 317. See also *Æn.* vii. 796.

\*\* Festus, v. Sacrani.

†† Nieb. pp. 334, 335, note 867, ed. 2, p. 382, note 930, ed. 3. The translators of Niebuhr have published (Cambridge, 1831) a second edition of their translation of vol. i., which is in fact a translation of the third edition of the original. To this references will be made in this chapter, as ed. 3, as well as to the preceding edition; and in the subsequent chapters to this only.

‡‡ The friend of the elder Dionysius. Outline of Gen. Hist. c. xi., § 1.

\* Dion. i. 22.

† See Outline of Gen. Hist., ch. ix., § 1., and below, pp. 81, 82, &c.

‡ Sallust. Frag. Hist.

§ Outline of Gen. Hist. ch. ix. § 2. Below, p. 85. This hypothesis was suggested by Freret; Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. T. xviii.

we could trust to the account of Avienus, they would appear to have been driven upon the Iberians of the coast by the pressure of the Gauls, who descended upon them from the countries which are now the northern and inland provinces of France. This great nation, the Gauls or Celts, probably migrated westward along the middle of Europe, between the Baltic Sea and the German Ocean, on the one hand, and the mountains of Bohemia and Switzerland on the other.\* In France they spread themselves from north to south. They crossed the Pyrenees, and are commonly supposed to have partially dispossessed the Iberians, and thus to have formed the mingled nation of the Celtiberi, of which the numerous tribes occupied the middle of Spain. There is reason, however, to conjecture that the Celtic race may have penetrated into the northern and north-western parts of the peninsula, while the Iberians were spread chiefly along the southern and eastern coasts; and that subsequently the Iberians may have gained ground upon the Celts. We should thus be enabled to account for the position of the Celtici, an insulated tribe in the mountains in the south of Lusitania; and of other Celtici at the extreme point of Galicia (Cape Finisterre). When a country changes its population, the older inhabitants are to be sought in its mountainous districts and most remote extremities. We may therefore suppose the Iberians to have dispossessed the Celts, or to have become mingled with them, till they spread themselves beyond the Pyrenees and over the plain of Aquitaine.† It is even possible that a resistance or an impulse from this quarter may have determined the great movement of the Gauls towards the east, in which they first attacked the Ligurian Salyes above Marseilles;‡ and then crossed the Alps, and burst into the plains of Italy. The circumstances of this irruption will be detailed hereafter. Here it is sufficient to remark that this great revolution completed the expulsion of the Ligurians from the plains on the north of the Po, and drove them into the mountains in which we have already traced their scattered tribes.

The early state of the Ligurians has been thus carefully investigated, be-

cause it is not unlikely that they were a more important element in the ancient population of Italy than is commonly supposed. The opinion or tradition that the Aborigines, the indigenous race from which the Latins and the Romans were partly sprung, were a branch of the Ligurians, is by no means deserving of the fabulous character which Dionysius contemptuously fastens upon it.\*

The origin and affinities of this great nation are quite uncertain. If the testimonies adduced above do not warrant the belief that the Euganei and Taurisci were of Ligurian race, it would be difficult to show that the Ligurians might not have spread themselves into Italy from its western frontier, as the Gauls did. The statements of Cato respecting their towns Vercellæ and Novaria † seem to imply this hypothesis. The pressure of the Gauls might impel them in this direction. On the other hand, if we believe the Ligurians to have bordered anciently on the Adriatic, another clue presents itself, and we may conjecture an affinity between them and the Liburnians. Niebuhr has hazarded this conjecture, chiefly from the similarity of the names. ‡

§ 3. It is probable that the chronological order of the national migrations is disturbed in speaking of the Veneti, or Venetians, before we treat of the Umbrians, the Pelasgians, and the Etruscans. But their geographical position makes this the most convenient place to mention them. The Veneti possessed the country round the innermost recesses of the Adriatic, from the peninsula of Istria to the river Athesis

\* Dion. i. 10.

† p. 64.

‡ Vol. i. p. 140, ed. 2. p. 165, ed. 3. The Liburnians possessed the mountainous region along the north-eastern shores of the Adriatic sea, with the adjacent islands; and were a distinct nation from the Illyrians, who inhabited the coasts to the south of them (Scylax, p. 7). In early times the Liburnians were more extensively diffused. They inhabited all the islands along the eastern side of the Adriatic; and even in Corcyra the natives, whom the Corinthian settlers expelled, were Liburnians (Strabo, vi. 2, 4). They spread themselves to the Italian side of the gulf; and the Umbrians in ancient times had expelled Siculi and Liburni from the coasts which were afterwards occupied by the Sabellian Picentes and the Gallic Senones. The town Truentum long retained its Liburnian population (Plin. N. H. iii. 13 and 14). If we look to the north, we shall find traces of the Liburnians in Istria: and there is even a testimony, which supposes them to have penetrated into the recesses of the Alps, and comprehends the Alpine nations in their extended tribes (Serv. on Æn. i. 243). It is possible, therefore, that in very early times the Liburnians were in contact with the Ligurians.

\* Outline of Gen. Hist., Ch. x. § 3, and note.

† Strabo, iv. l. 1. Above, p. 62. ‡ Liv. v. 34.



(Adige), or even to the Po; and their territory was inclosed on the west and north by the Athesis and the Alps. We are assured by the authority of Polybius, that they were not of the same race as the Gauls, with whom several writers have confounded them. In comparison with the Gallic settlers in Italy, they were a very ancient people: they resembled them in manners and dress, but they differed in language.\* By Herodotus they are called Illyrians;† and the same descent is signified by a tradition, probably a native one, which mentions as the chief under whom they occupied their territory, an Illyrian prince Ænetus.‡

This account carries with it a strong appearance of truth. The Illyrians were a barbarous nation, who seem to have advanced from the neighbourhood of the Danube,§ and spread themselves along the eastern coasts of the Adriatic sea. In the more northern parts, not only the Iapodes, or Iapydes between the Liburnians and Istrians, were originally an Illyrian tribe, though afterwards mixed with Gauls;|| and the Istrians themselves are counted as belonging to the Illyrian coast;¶ but even beyond the extremity of the Adriatic, among the Alpine nations, the Breuni and Genauni are specified as Illyrians, and as such are expressly distinguished from the Vindelici and Norici.\*\* Southward the Illyrians extended themselves as far as the Acroceranunian promontory.†† Along this whole tract they appear to have pressed hard upon the Liburnians; sometimes to have dispossessed them; sometimes to have blended themselves with them; and finally to have confounded both nations under their own name.‡‡

It appears then that the Veneti were an Illyrian tribe, which penetrated to the western side of the extreme gulf of the

Adriatic, and expelled the Euganei from their ancient seats.\* Here they held their ground, while the other districts on the north of the Po were under the dominion of the Etruscans†, and even when they were overrun by the Gauls. With these latter invaders they were engaged in wars;‡ and probably it was their continued hostility which made the Veneti pass, as they did, without resistance, under the protection and dominion of Rome. The Greeks called this nation Heneti; and there was a tradition respecting them, which must have had its origin with the Greek Cyclic poets, not unlike the tale by which Æneas and his Trojans were transported to the shores of Latium. It was fabled that Antenor escaped from the ruin of Troy with the Heneti, a Paphlagonian tribe, who are enumerated among the allies of the Trojans;§ that he reached the recesses of the Adriatic sea, and there settled his followers, and founded the city of Patavium.|| Even Cato believed this story; but it probably arose merely from the identity of names. Our vague notices of the national affinities of the Illyrians would rather lead us to derive them from Pannonia and the upper part of the course of the Danube.¶ The name Veneti may be connected with the town Vendum in Istria.

§ 4. The Umbrians were accounted by Roman writers the most ancient people of Italy;\*\*\* a very great and ancient nation.†† In the historical age they dwelt only on the left side of the Tiber, which divided Umbria from Etruria. They extended southward a little below the confluence of the Nar with the Tiber; and northward, till they reached the coast of the Adriatic, and even as far as Ravenna. The Gallic tribe of the Senones had occupied a portion of their coast; but as the Gauls were wasted by the continual hostility of Rome, the Umbrians recovered their lost ground. As long as Cisalpine Gaul was distinguished from Italy in the political division of the country, the Æsis and the Rubicon, which, at different times, were considered as the boundaries of Italy, were also the boundaries of the district of Umbria. But when all the peninsula

\* Pol. ii. 17. † Her. i. 196, v. 9.

‡ Serv. on Æn. i. 243. § Strabo, v. 1, 8.

|| Strabo, iv. 6, 10; vii. 5, 2.

¶ Strabo, vii. 5, 3. \*\* Strabo, iv. 6, 8.

†† Scylax, p. 11.

‡‡ Plin. iii. 21. For example, the Enchelees, between the estuary of Rhizon and the Greek settlement of Epidamnus (Scyl. p. 9; Strabo, vii. 7, 8), appear to have been a Liburnian tribe, whom the Illyrians overpowered; and then the two nations, moving in one common incursion, penetrated even into Greece, and plundered the temple of Delphi. Compare Plin. iii. 21 (25); Apollodorus, iii. 5, 4; Herodot. ix. 43, v. 61; Eurip. Bacch. v. 1331—1336. The time of this event, if it were posterior to the expulsion of the Cadmeans from Thebes, must have been not long after the Trojan war. On the encroachments of the Illyrians upon Greece there are remarks in Müller's Dorians, Introduction, § 5, (Translation, p. 6.)

\* Liv. i. 1. Serv. on Æn. i. 243. The mention in Servius of the name of the Euganean king, Velesus, seems a mark of an indigenous tradition.

† Liv. v. 33. ‡ Polyb. ii. 18. § Il. B. 852.

|| Liv. i. 1. Virg. Æn. i. 242. Plin. iii. 19 (23).

¶ Strabo, vii. 5. \*\* Flor. i. 17. †† Plin. iii. 14 (19).

†† Dion. i. 19.

south of the Alps was included in the common name of Italy, these arbitrary limits were less regarded; and Strabo declares expressly, that the country as far as Ravenna was inhabited by Umbrians.\* The antiquity of the nation is attested by more than general assertions. Ameria, one of their southern cities, was said by Cato to have been founded 964 years before the war of Perseus;† that is, 1135 B.C., or 383 years before the foundation of Rome. In these early times their dominion was far more widely extended than in the later ages. They possessed both banks of the Tiber, and inhabited the region which was afterwards Etruria. Thence they were dislodged by the Pelasgians; and if any still maintained their ground, they must have been finally expelled by the Etruscans.‡ The Etrurian river, Umbro (now Ombrone), seems to have retained its name from the old inhabitants. The tract of land about its mouth was even called Umbria.§ Cortona is particularly named as a city wrested by the Pelasgians from the Umbrians;|| and as Clusium was anciently named Camers,¶ it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was the original seat of the Camertes, a powerful Umbrian tribe.\*\* Southward also the Umbrians extended further in ancient than in more recent times. The hilly region on the east of the Tiber, between the Nar and the Anio, is said to have been possessed by the Umbrians, till they were driven out by the people whom Varro called Aborigines.†† On the east of the Apennines, along the coast of the Adriatic, in the territory which was afterwards called Picenum and possessed by a Sabine tribe, the Umbrians are reported to have spread as conquerors, and to have expelled Liburnians and Siculi.‡‡ Ancona was still an Umbrian town in the time of Scylax.§§ It is not unlikely that this movement eastward and northward along the coast, was caused by the pressure of the Etruscans on the west, by which the Umbrians were confined within the left bank of the Tiber. That the progress of the Umbrians in this direction coincided with the period of the growth of

the Etruscan power seems likely from the fact that the Pelasgian inhabitants of Ravenna received them willingly, as protectors against the violence of the Etruscans; and it was thus that Ravenna became an Umbrian town.\* It may be conjectured that the Umbrians once possessed a portion of the inland country on the northern as well as on the southern side of the Apennines; and in both regions had been compelled to retreat before the Etruscans. At least it is evident from the account of Strabo, that they maintained an obstinate contest with the Etruscans for the dominion of the country between the Apennines and the lower part of the Po.† The extent of their ancient territory is indicated by the statement, which Pliny repeats as well ascertained, that the Etruscans took in war no fewer than three hundred of their towns.‡ Even so late as the period of the Gallic invasion, the Umbrians held a territory west of the Utens, which was wrested from them by the Boii.§ That they ever dwelt on the northern bank of the Po, we have no express testimony; and when Herodotus describes the rivers Carpis and Alpīs, which flow northward into the Ister, as rising from the country above the Ombrici or Umbrians,|| it is probable that he uses the name not with a distinct application to one particular nation, but as a general term for all the people of the north of Italy. His knowledge of the northern parts of the peninsula appears to have been imperfect and vague. It is possible however that the Symbri, whom Strabo mentions as a small community above the Veneti,¶ may have been a tribe detached from the Umbrians, or left behind in the course of national migration. We have seen that the territory of the Umbrians was gradually diminished by the conquests of the Etruscans and of the Sabines. In the latter period of their history we find them in the condition of dependent allies of the Etruscans.\*\* On the northern side of the Apennines they suffered from the encroachments of the Gauls, and probably submitted to their dominion;†† and the valley of the Tiber was the obvious road of the Gauls, as long as they made incursions into the more southern parts

\* Strabo, v. 2, 10.

† Plin. N. H. iii. 14. See Outline of Gen. Hist. ch. xv. § 3.

‡ Plin. H. N. iii. 5 (8). cf. Herod. i. 94.

§ Plin. ib. || Dion. i. 20. ¶ Liv. x. 25.

\*\* Liv. ix. 36. See Cramer's Ancient Italy, vol. i. p. 275.

†† Plin. iii. 13, 14.

‡‡ Dion. i. 14, 16.

§§ p. 6.

\* Strabo, v. 1, 7.

† Strabo, v. 1, 10.

‡ Plin. N. H. iii. 14 (19).

§ Liv. v. 35.

|| iv. 49.

¶ Strabo, v. 1, 9.

\*\* Livy, L. L. ix. and x. Micali, p. i. c. 6. pp. 67, 68.

†† Polyb. ii. 18.



of Italy. The Umbrians were divided into several independent tribes,\* but occasional confederations were formed amongst them; and the tables found at Iguvium (Eugubbio or Gubbio) are evidence of a community of religious rites.†

§ 5. We must now direct our attention to the Pelasgian tribes. An exact investigation of the origin and diffusion of the Pelasgian race would belong rather to an elaborate history of Greece, than to a brief view of the early population of Italy. The statements respecting the extension of the Pelasgians over the continent and islands of Greece will therefore be assumed, as results ascertained by the researches of learned men, and those points only will be marked, which bear directly on our present subject.‡

The headlands of southern Greece, and some other parts of the coast, were occupied in the earliest times by the Leleges and other tribes, which spread themselves from the opposite shores of Asia Minor over the islands of the Ægean sea. But, with these exceptions, the whole continent, from the borders of Thrace and Macedonia to the extreme point of Peloponnesus, was peopled with the great Pelasgian nation. It has been conjectured reasonably, that the primitive Thracians, to whom the Greeks themselves referred the origin of their civilization, and tribes of whom were settled in Phocis and in Attica, must have been of the same race.§ Pelasgians inhabited the islands in the north of the Ægean sea, Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace. They dwelt on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, on the southern shores of the Propontis, and especially in the peninsula of Cyzicus. Eastward we cannot trace them beyond the river Rhyndacus. But towards the south they possessed, in ancient times, all the coast of Asia, as far as the promontory of Mycale, with Lesbos and Chios, and the smaller adjacent islands.|| It must be observed that this tract com-

prehends all the maritime parts of Meionia or Lydia.\*

After this statement, with our knowledge of the original seats of the human race, the obvious conclusion is, that the Pelasgians spread themselves from Asia into Europe, across the Hellespont, and round the northern shores of the Ægean sea. To the southern Greeks their mother-country would appear to be Thessaly, a region in which the extensive plain of the Peneus gave room for more populous tribes than could be formed in the mountainous districts. This view of the origin of the Pelasgi and of their primitive country is presented by many Grecian traditions. A different theory however was entertained by some Greek writers, especially by those of the later ages. They chose to consider Arcadia as the fountain head of all the Pelasgian tribes. The origin of this notion lay in the fact, that in the inland and mountainous territory of Arcadia the primitive Pelasgian population remained with little mixture or disturbance,† while almost all the other regions of Greece had been subject to frequent migrations and changes of inhabitants, so that the Pelasgian character of the nation was almost obliterated. The Greek antiquaries supposed that the surviving Pelasgian people must have been the parent stock of all the Pelasgians of the earlier ages. It was such a mistake as was made by Roman writers, when they supposed the hosts of Cimbri, who threatened to overrun Gaul, and Spain, and Italy, to have issued from the Cimbric peninsula (Jutland), to which the nation was restricted after the advance of the Germans: such a mistake as would be made by any person who should fancy Wales to be the primitive seat of all the Celtic tribes of Britain and Gaul. The traditions of the Arcadians themselves probably con-

\* Besides this general testimony we have particular evidence of the presence of Pelasgians in these regions. Antandros was called Pelasgic in the time of Herodotus (Her. vii. 42). Larissa was a common name of the towns or citadels of the Pelasgians: thus we find the Larissa of Argos, two Larissas in Thessaly, and several others. Now in Asia there was a Larissa near Troy, another near Cuma, another in the territory of Ephesus, another near Tralles, on the border of the plain of the Caystrus (Strabo, ix. 5). Tralles itself was a Pelasgic town (Nieb. p. 33, ed. 3). Lesbos was so confessedly Pelasgic, that it bore the name Pelasgia (Strabo, v. 2, 4; Plin. N.H. v. 31). Diodorus relates a legend of the peopling of the island by a Pelasgian colony from Lycia (v. 81). This might be the Homeric Lycia, about Zeleia in the Troad.

† Herod. i. 146; ii. 171; viii. 73. Thuc. i. 2.

\* Liv. ix. 36, 41; xxviii. 45; xxxi. 2.

† Cramer's Italy, vol. i. pp. 264—266.

‡ For an account of the Pelasgians, see Marsh's *Horæ Pelasgiæ*, ch. i.; Cramer's *Ancient Greece*, sect. i.; Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 21—31, ed. 2, pp. 25—62, ed. 3; Wachsmuth, *Hel. Alt.* i. Th. i. Abth. § 9; and *Gesch. Rom.* p. 91; Curtius, *De Antiquis Italiæ Incolis*, § 6, 7.

§ There was a village, Larissa, on the left coast of the Pontus, near the promontory which terminates Mount Hæmus. Strabo, ix. 5. See below, note.

|| Menecrates of Elæa, in Strabo, xiii. 3, 3.

firmed the false impression, as they seem to have referred to their own tribe events which concerned the other divisions of the Pelasgian race.

The event which operated most powerfully in modifying the Pelasgian population of Greece, and in imprinting upon it a new character, was the intermixture of another race, the Hellenic, how near to the Pelasgian in its origin it is impossible now to know, but certainly different from it at the time when their union took place. In some parts the Hellenes dislodged the old inhabitants; but in general they appear to have established themselves in the midst of them as a conquering nation. It seems evident that the Hellenes much excelled the Pelasgians in the spirit of enterprise and in military accomplishments. Hence Hellenic chiefs with a small band of followers were enabled to assert their superiority over the more numerous Pelasgian population. The conquered people learned to pride themselves in assuming the name and adopting the customs of their conquerors, and soon incorporated their language with their own.\* It was thus that Pelasgians were transformed into Hellenes; † though certainly the facility and the completeness with which the change was effected are arguments that the two nations were not altogether strange and dissimilar to each other. It must be observed that the superiority of the Hellenes was only military and imperial. In civilization and in intellectual attainments the Grecian race which made the most early and the most rapid progress, and reached to the highest degree of excellence, was one in which the Pelasgian blood was least adulterated by foreign mixture, the Ionians of Attica and of the settlements in Asia. ‡ The

Dorians, the race the most strictly Hellenic, long disdained to apply themselves to literature or to the fine arts. To the Pelasgian element in the population of Greece we probably owe all that distinguishes the Greeks in the history of the human mind. However paradoxical the assertion may appear to a classical reader, there is reason to suspect that the primitive Hellenes had an affinity to the barbarous races which inhabited the continent on the north of Greece, and that they themselves, had they continued pure and unmixed, would have been in fact Barbarians.\*

To some portions of the Pelasgian race, in the countries about the Ægæan Sea, was given the name of Tyrseni. This name was applied especially to a migratory Pelasgian tribe, † which entered Attica at a time when the indigenous population had begun to assume a distinct Hellenic character, ‡ apparently after the final settlement of the Bœotians in Bœotia, but before the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. § The same name was commonly given to the Pelasgians of the islands Lemnos, and Imbros, and Seyros; || and these Tyrseni were supposed to be descended from the Tyrseni of Attica. The Pelasgian tribe, which formed the greatest part of the population of the peninsula of Athos, is affirmed by Thucydides to have been the remains of the Tyrseni, who had dwelt formerly in Lemnos and Athens; ¶ and two towns in Macedonia are referred to a Tyrsenian origin.\*\* The authority of Herodotus procured acceptance for the tradition, that the Pelasgians of Lemnos and the adjacent islands were the relics of the tribe which had settled in Attica, and which had been subsequently expelled by the Athenians. The story ran thus. These Pelasgians came into Attica, and were permitted by the Athenians to dwell with them. They were evidently considered as an inferior and dependent race; for they were employed to build a

\* Thuc. i. 3, and Nieb. p. 25, ed. 2. p. 29. ed. 3. Curtius, *De Antiquis Italiæ Incolis*, § 7, has followed in the steps of Niebuhr, and explained very clearly and fully, how the Hellenic name was diffused over Greece, and how the Pelasgians were moulded into Hellenes. Among the Grecian races, he has accurately discriminated the Dorians as pure Hellenes by origin and descent; the Æolians, Achæans, and Ionians, as originally Pelasgian, but made Hellenes by the predominance of Hellenic settlers and Hellenic chiefs; the Arcadians as pure Pelasgians, rendered Hellenic only by gradual assimilation to their neighbours. But it must be remembered that, even in the Dorian States, the Periæci, though they were comprehended in the Dorian name, were not Dorians, but generally of Pelasgian extraction.

† This change is noted by historians in several instances. See Herod. i. 57. Thuc. ii. 63.

‡ Polybius bears testimony to a singular sensibility and refinement of taste even in the mountaineers of Arcadia (iv. 20 and 21). Wachsmuth has collected the traditions of the early civilization of the Pelasgians,

\* Hellenes was the name by which all the Greeks in the historical age distinguished themselves with the highest possible degree of national pride; and the name Barbarians (*Βαρβάρων*) was the opposite term, and was used to denote all nations which were not Hellenic.

† Thuc. iv. 109. Callim. Frag. 233.

‡ Herod. ii. 51.

§ Of Strabo, ix. 2, 3. Herod. iv. 145–148. Thuc. i. 12.

|| Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1760. Polyæn. vii. 49. Aristoxenus in Porph. vit. Pythag. Aristoxenus is said to have been a disciple of Aristotle.

¶ Thuc. iv. 109.

\*\* Æeane and Elimeæ, Steph. Byz.



part of the wall of the citadel, and received as their reward a portion of land under Mount Hymettus. Afterwards jealousies and quarrels arose between the ruling and subject nations, and the Pelasgians were driven out; and these fugitives seized Lemnos and other places. From Lemnos they expelled the old inhabitants, the Minyæ, who were said to be descended from the Argonauts; and the Minyæ took refuge in Laconia, soon after the Dorian conquest.\* Of the former part of this story a lasting monument remained, the Pelasgic wall on the northern side of the Acropolis.† Among the places which the Pelasgians seized, Herodotus evidently includes Imbros,‡ Samothrace,§ and Placie and Scylace, towns on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont or Propontis.|| That such a tribe was expelled from Attica, cannot be questioned: that they may have taken refuge with a kindred people, is not improbable; but that these fugitives, who in Attica were content with an allotment under Mount Hymettus, should have been able to spread themselves over several islands, and dispossess the old inhabitants, and should have planted settlements on both continents, is a statement so inconsistent, that it is fairly open to very great doubt. This doubt must be much augmented, when we call to mind the testimony to the existence of Pelasgian tribes in the same regions, which no tradition connected with the Tyrseni of Attica, and which must have been far more ancient.¶ The historian Anticleides affirmed that the Pelasgians were the first inhabitants of Lemnos and Imbros, and of the adjacent parts;\*\* and thus virtually rejected the story of the settlement from Attica, and the expulsion of the Minyæ. The mythic tradition of the peopling of Samothrace by the Arcadian companions of Dardanus connects the Pelasgians of Samothrace with the more ancient Pelasgian nations;†† and the Pelasgians of Scyros appear to have been Dolopes.‡‡ But, moreover, we find mention, not merely of Pelasgians, but of Tyrseni, who are not referred to

the Attic Tyrseni, and are introduced into the traditions of an earlier age. Thus Hellanicus ascribed the foundation of the town Metaon in Lesbos to Metas a Tyrsenian.\* Menodotus, an ancient historian of Samos, spoke of an enterprise of Tyrsenian pirates, who attempted to carry off the statue of the Samian Juno at the instigation of the Argives in the generation after Eurystheus.† Possis the Magnesian recorded a sea-fight which took place between the Tyrseni and the Argonauts.‡ The Tyrseni of the Homeric Hymn to Bacchus, pirates who think to sell the kidnapped stranger in Cyprus or Egypt, are evidently a people of the Ægean Sea, and must be referred to the mythic age. Sophocles did not scruple to apply the compound name of Tyrseni Pelasgi to the ancient Pelasgians of Peloponnesus.§ From these arguments and testimonies we may conclude that the names Tyrseni and Pelasgi were equivalent, at least in the eastern seas of Greece. Hence we obtain an explanation of the tradition, which has been reported by Herodotus, of the emigration of a people called Tyrseni from the shores of Asia. Tyrsenus and Lydus were said to be the sons of Atys, the king of the people, who were then called Meiones. In consequence of a protracted famine, half of the nation embarked and left their country, under the conduct of Tyrsenus, and received the appellation of Tyrseni; half remained behind, under the command of Lydus, and changed their name to Lydians.|| It seems that we have here a record of the migration of the old Pelasgian population of Meionia; and probably of their expulsion by a foreign race, which established itself in the country. The Tyrsenian emigrants were likely to spread themselves over the adjacent regions; and Anticleides not obscurely connected

\* Steph. Byz. v. Metaon. † Athen. xv. 3.

‡ Athen. vii. 12. These Tyrseni would be the Pelasgians of Cyzicus. See Apoll. Rhod. i. 936, &c., and Conon. Hist. xli. in Phot. Bibliotheca. Conon is singular among the ancient writers in distinguishing the Tyrseni of the Grecian seas from the Pelasgians. These references respecting the Tyrseni are borrowed from Cramer's Ancient Italy, vol. i. Sect. iv. pp. 155, 157.

§ In the Inachus in Dion. i. 25.

\* *Ἰναχος γενέτας, καὶ κηρών*

*πατέρος Ἀκίανου, μέγα πρεσβύνου*

*Ἀργούς τε γυαῖς Ἥρας τε πάροις,*  
*καὶ Τυρσηνοῖσι Πηλασσοῖσι.*

The collocation of the words is remarkable, as it seems to distinguish the Pelasgian Tyrseni from other Tyrseni who were not Pelasgian.

|| Her. i. 7, i. 94, vii. 74.

\* Herod. vi. 137, &c. iv. 145, &c.

† Thuc. ii. 17, and Arnold's note. ‡ v. 26.

§ ii. 51.

|| i. 57. Mela, i. 19.

¶ On one side on the coast of Asia (Menecrates in Strabo, cited above); on the other side on the banks of the Strymon (Æsch. Suppl. v. 252). See also the account of the dispersion of the Pelasgians in Dion. i. 18, which apparently comes from Hellanicus.

\*\* Strabo, v. 2, 4.

†† Dion. i. 61.

‡‡ Nieb. p. 26, note 66, ed. 2, p. 31, n. 73, ed. 3.

the Pelasgians of the islands Lemnos and Imbros with this people from the neighbouring continent. The mode in which the tradition was misinterpreted by Herodotus himself, and by other writers, who believed that these Meionian Tyrsenians sailed to Italy, and became the founders of the Etruscan nation, will be considered hereafter.\*

The Pelasgians were not only widely diffused over the islands and continent of Greece, but spread themselves likewise into Italy. Of their migrations into the latter country various accounts are preserved, some of a mythological character, others bearing a greater semblance of history. Both kinds of traditions furnish sufficient evidence of the main fact of the extension of this great nation over the coasts and plains of the middle and south of Italy. The historical accounts seem to supply more particular information, which is valuable where it is confirmed by concurrent testimony, or by circumstantial evidence: the mythic genealogies are perhaps less likely to mislead the speculative investigator of national antiquities.

Of the accounts which are apparently more historical, there is one which is attested by the authority of Hellanicus of Lesbos.† According to the summary

\* Dionysius refutes the opinion of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans by the negative authority of Xanthus the Lydian, who wrote a history of his own country. Xanthus wrote after the reign of Xerxes; but on the authority of Ephorus (in Athen. L. xi. p. 515), he may be considered as earlier than Herodotus. (See Museum Crit. vol. ii. p. 109, &c.) Xanthus nowhere named Tyrsenus as a Lydian chief, and knew nothing of an emigration of Meiones to Italy. On the contrary, he says, that Atys had two sons, Lydus and Torybus, (Steph. Byz. calls him Torrhebus, and the people Torrhebi); and that these divided their father's kingdom, but both remained in Asia, and became the heads of two neighbouring tribes, the Lydi and the Torybi, whose dialects differed only as those of the Dorians and Ionians among the Greeks. (Dion. i. 28). It may be conceived that this authority is sufficient to destroy altogether the legend of Tyrsenus and the Tyrsenian emigration for any historical purpose whatsoever. But it must be observed that the Greek legend is not constant in representing Tyrsenus as the son of Atys. By some writers he was called the son of Hercules and Omphale. (Dion. i. 28. Pausan. ii. 21, 3. Strabo confounds the two accounts, where he calls Atys a descendant of Hercules and Omphale. v. 2, 2. A different genealogy is assigned by the older writers to Atys. Dion. i. 27. Herodot. i. 7). It is likely that this was the genuine form of the Greek legend of the emigration of Tyrsenus; and that it was pieced by Herodotus with the Lydian tradition of the sons of Atys in consequence of the resemblance of the stories. In this form the Greek legend is not touched by the statement of Xanthus. But even if the name Torrhebus be the same with Tyrrhenus or Tyrsenus, and the stories have the same foundation, it is easily conceivable that a part of the people may have emigrated and a part remained in the country.

† The historian Hellanicus was a few years older than Herodotus, and wrote in the interval between

which is presented by Dionysius,\* he stated, that "the Pelasgians were dislodged (apparently from Thessaly) by the Hellenes; that they left their ships at the river Spines (the Spinetic mouth of the Po) in the Ionian gulf (the Adriatic sea), and took the city Croton in the inland country; and thence spread themselves and peopled the region called Tyrrhenia." Dionysius has given in the preceding chapters a more particular account of the same migration;† but he has not distinctly informed his readers, whether this detail rests upon the same authority, or is drawn from other sources. It is probable, however, that here also he has derived his knowledge from Hellanicus. According to this version of the story, the Pelasgians were driven from Thessaly by the Curetes and Leleges, who in later times were called Ætolians and Locrians, and by other tribes which settled about Parnassus. When they were thus expelled from their ancient seats, they dispersed themselves in diverse directions over Greece; but the greater part of them sought refuge with the kindred people which dwelt about Dodona in Thesprotia. Here they remained for some time; but when they found that the country was unable to supply so great a multitude with food, they took shipping, and crossed over into Italy. Being driven by a south wind, and not knowing whither to shape their course, they arrived at the Spinetic mouth of the Po. There they left their ships, and a part of their body to guard them; and those, who thus remained, founded a city which bore the name of Spina. The Pelasgians of Spina flourished above all the people on that coast, and were for a long time masters of the sea; and were distinguished by the splendid offerings which they sent to the temple of Delphi. Those who turned towards the inland country, entered the territory of the Umbri, and seized several of their smaller towns, and the great and wealthy city of Croton or Cortona. From this stronghold they carried war against the surrounding tribes, and (according to the account of Dionysius) especially against the Siceli, till at last they drove

the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. His works are lost; but it appears that they were voluminous, and comprehended a large proportion of the traditions of early Greece. Like the writings of other early historians, they were not remarkable for accuracy or discrimination. See Museum Criticum, vol. ii., p. 90, &c.

\* Dion. i., 28.

† i. 17—20.



them from the country. Thus they either took from the Siceli, or themselves founded, Alsium, Agylla, Falerii, Fescennium, Saturnia, Pisa, and many other cities, both in the interior of the country and along the coast, between the Tiber and the Arno.

In proceeding to examine this story we may observe, that the tradition which represented the Pelasgians of Italy as Thessalians, or as coming originally from Thessaly, was commonly received, and was adopted without scruple by other writers.\* The historians, and especially the later writers, who used this language, had in their minds the notion which has been mentioned before, that Thessaly was the mother-country of the Pelasgian race. That this theory is not consistent with an extensive survey of facts has been already intimated: and it is manifest that the Pelasgians who migrated to Italy must have been the people of the opposite coast of Epirus and Thesprotia. Even the legend of Hellanicus makes this their resting-place in their migration; and the attempt to trace still further back the beginning of the national movement is unsatisfactory and futile. Nevertheless it is possible that the primitive Greek traditions called the Italian Pelasgians Thessalians; and yet that they would have conveyed a true notion of their origin, if they had met with correct interpreters in the early historians. Thessaly was not yet so named in the age of its earliest Pelasgian inhabitants. It was subsequently occupied by the Æolian tribes, in which there was a mixture of Hellenic blood, and by the Hellenes of Phthiotis: and the people properly called Thessali were a tribe which migrated from Thesprotia at a time after the Trojan war, took possession of the Æolian territory, and thus imparted to it their own name.† The Thessalians therefore were Thesprotians; and in this sense the term may be properly applied to the Pelasgians of Italy. The motive which is assigned for their migration westward,

the pressure of the Lelegic or Hellenic race,\* is likely enough to have been the true cause. Indeed this circumstance of the tradition throws more light on the relation of the Hellenes and the Pelasgi than any other single statement.

When we descend to the particular circumstances of the account, of course we cannot believe the report of the historian, who fixes upon one point as the landing-place of a nation, which was diffused over the greater part of Italy, in a migration which took place in an age anterior to all history, when the population of all the countries on both sides of the Adriatic sea was still in a state of progression and internal fluctuation. The Pelasgians must have passed from the eastern to the western shores of the gulf, not by a single movement, but by a gradual extension, at many times and by many courses. Hellanicus may have been induced to name Spina, either because it was the most powerful of the Pelasgian settlements on the eastern coast of Italy, or because it retained a distinct Pelasgic character even in his own age: or he may have chosen to begin a geographical account of the Pelasgians of Italy from the most northern point which they appeared to have reached. Dionysius, who follows his authority, has attempted to trace the course of the Pelasgians across the Apennines from north to south, and has accommodated to this theory the Italian traditions with which he has pieced the accounts of the Greek historians. Without entangling ourselves with this hypothesis, we shall proceed to collect the testimony which confirms the general position of the diffusion of a Pelasgian population in the middle regions of Italy.

Strabo attests that Spina (although in his own time it was but a small village, and, in consequence of the changes wrought by the Po on this alluvial coast, situated among marshes at the distance of ten miles from the sea†) was formerly a city of considerable celebrity, and sufficiently near to the sea to exercise a maritime dominion. He calls it a Grecian city;‡ and, for evidence of its origin, appeals to the treasury of the Spinctes, which was still to be seen at Delphi.§ A similar testimony is borne by Pliny, with the addition of the circumstance that the city was reported to

\* Thus Strabo speaks of Ravenna as founded by Thessalians (v. i. 7); and of Agylla, as founded by Pelasgians who came from Thessaly (v. 2, 3). Diodorus (xiv. 113.) says, that some described the Tyrrheni between the Alps and the Apennines, as Pelasgians who fled from Thessaly to escape the deluge in the time of Deucalion.

† Herod. vii. 176. Diod. iv. 67. Strabo, ix. 5, 23. It is possible that the cause of this backward migration of the Thesprotian Pelasgians to the ancient seats of the Pelasgian race, was the irruption and encroachments of the Illyrians. Muller conceives the Thessalians themselves to be Illyrians (Dorians, *Introd.* § 4.)

\* See p. 72, col. 2.

† *Ἐλληνίς πόλις.*

‡ About 90 stadii.

§ Strabo, v. 1, 7. ix. 3.

have been founded by Diomede.\* Upon these statements we may remark, that the language of Strabo is not so accurate as to warrant us in supposing that, by the epithet Grecian or Hellenic, he excluded the hypothesis of the Pelasgian origin of the city; and that it is a common feature of the Grecian traditions to represent cities which were connected with the early population of Greece, but which were more ancient than the period of the prevalence of the Hellenic character in the nation, and which were not recognised in the political relation of colonies by any city of the mother-country, to have been founded by the wandering heroes of the Trojan war. Of course the Pelasgian settlements fell under this predicament. Traditions respecting Diomede prevailed in a singular degree along the whole of the Italian coast of the Adriatic sea.† It is probable that Spina fell under the power of the Etruscans or Umbrians,‡ and was finally impoverished by the conquest of the Gauls.§ A little to the south of Spina stood Ravenna, which was said to have been founded by Thessalians, that is, by Pelasgians; and which subsequently, to escape the violence of the Etruscans, submitted to the dominion of the Umbrians.|| And yet further to the south Pelasgians are said to have possessed likewise the region of Picenum.¶ I have not noticed the opinion reported by Diodorus, which placed Pelasgians in the plains about the Po, and manifestly identified them with the Etruscans of that country;\*\* because it is not countenanced by any other authority, and seems to be only an extension of the mistake which confounded the Pelasgians and the Etruscans of the Southern Etruria under the common name of Tyrrheni.

In the inland country the Pelasgians formed settlements at Cotyle or Cutiliæ, at Reate, and at other places in the valley of the river Velinus,†† in the region to the east of the Tiber, which was then occupied by the Umbri or Aborigines, but which was afterwards the territory of the Sabines. It appears, however, that they penetrated but very partially into the mountainous districts. These were held by the older races of Italy, while the Pelasgians possessed the more

level country and the regions nearer to the coast. The quarter in which the Pelasgians were most widely spread and most firmly established, was the country which afterwards became Etruria, on the right or western side of the Tiber, and beneath the southern slope of the Apennines. It is this country which Hellanicus called Tyrrhenia.\* From this region, we are expressly assured by Pliny, that the Pelasgians anciently expelled the Umbrians; and it is on this coast, next to the Ligurian territory, that the settlements of the Pelasgians are placed by Seymnus Chius.† Cortona was one of the most inland cities of this country. We have already seen the account which Dionysius has given of its occupation by the Pelasgians. In another place he informs us, that, when the other Pelasgian towns were destroyed or their inhabitants expelled, Cortona long preserved its ancient population and its national character.‡ It seems that in the age of Herodotus it retained its primitive Pelasgic language.§ To the poets Cortona was known as the city of Corythus;|| and from this city an Italian legend deduced the migration of Dardanus to the Pelasgian island Samothrace,¶ whom the fables of the Greek poets brought from Arcadia.\*\* Clusium appears to have been Pelasgian: at least its foundation is ascribed to Telemachus;†† and the name of Fæsulæ has a Grecian sound.‡‡ The belief of Justin,

\* See p. 72. † Scym. v. 216, &c. ‡ Dion. i. 26.

§ Dionysius (i. 29) understood, without any doubt, that Herodotus was speaking of the people of Croton or Cortona in i. 57, where our present MSS. have Creston; and there seems to be sufficient reason for abiding by his authority. See Niebuhr, note 77. p. 29, ed. 2; note 89, p. 34, ed. 3. In addition to the arguments there urged, it has been observed that Herodotus, where he speaks of the Crestonean Thracians, calls them *Κρησσωαίοι* (v. 3, 5; vii. 124), not *Κρησσωήνται*, which is the reading of our MSS. in i. 57, where Dionysius read *Κροτωνιάται*. An unreasonable and confused recollection of Thuc. iv. 109, has caused the error of the transcribers. Herodotus nowhere calls the Pelasgians of the Egean sea Tyrrseni. If this reading and interpretation be admitted, the statement of Herodotus is, that the Pelasgian inhabitants of the city of Croton in the inland country above the Etruscans, who formerly inhabited the district which in his own age was called Thessalotis, and the Pelasgian settlers at Placie and Scylace on the Hellespont, who were descended from the tribe which sojourned in Attica, spoke one and the same language, which in both cases was different from the language of all the people by whom they were surrounded. Hence he concludes that this was the original Pelasgic language, which they severally brought with them into those regions; and, as their language was not Greek, consequently that the Pelasgic language was not Greek.

¶ Sil. It. v. 123.

¶ Virg. Æn. vii. 205—209, and Servius.

\*\* Dion. i. 61.

†† Serv. on Æn. x. 167.

‡‡ Hesiod. Frag. LX.

\* N. H. iii. 16 (20). † Strabo, v. 1, 9, vi. 3, 9.

‡ Dion. i. 18. § Plin. iii. 17 (21). ¶ Strabo, v. 1, 7.

|| Sil. It. viii. 445. Nieb. p. 40, ed. 2, p. 48, ed. 3.

\*\* Diod. xiv. 113.

†† Dion. i. 19 and 20. Zenodotus in Dion. ii. 49.



or rather of Pompeius Trogus, whose work he abridged, that Perusia was founded by Achæans,\* may fairly be interpreted as an argument of its Pelasgian origin. At Perusia, as at Falerii, the goddess Juno was peculiarly honoured, as the tutelary deity of the city;† and we are warranted in the opinion that this worship had been handed down from the primitive age of Pelasgian superstition. Falerii or Falerium, the inhabitants of which were called Falisci, retained vestiges of its origin to a very late time, especially in the fashion of military arms, and in religious rites. The shrine of the Pelasgian Juno was furnished like the more celebrated building at Argos, in which the goddess was worshipped under the Grecian name of Hera. The solemnities of her religious service were the same, and they were performed by similar ministers. Such traces of the ancient population of Falerii remained even in the age of Dionysius,‡ and they gave rise to the belief that the city was a colony from Argos, founded by Halesus, a fugitive son of Agamemnon.§ Similar vestiges were visible at Fescennium, and they afforded ground for a similar legend.|| Alsium on the sea-coast, according to another version of the story, derived its name from the same Halesus.¶ But of all the towns on the Etrurian coast, Agylla or Cære is the one of which the Pelasgian origin is most strongly attested, and it is one of which we possess some truly historical knowledge. Agylla was the name which it received from its Pelasgian founders: it was called Cære by its Etruscan conquerors.\*\* Its people were not only known to the Greeks, but were held in high repute for courage and uprightness, especially on account of their abstinence from piracy, which was the common pest of the Tyrrhene sea. Like the Pelasgians of Spina, they had a treasury at Delphi. It has been thought strange that the Italian Pelasgians should maintain a religious connexion with Delphi, which may be esteemed more peculiarly a Hellenic temple, rather than with Dodona, the ancient and venerable seat of Pelasgian superstition. The fact may be received as a proof that they were

less alien from the great mass of the Greek nation than their early separation might lead us to believe. Whatever might be the cause of their religious predilection, whether the greater celebrity of the Pythian temple, or the vain desire of being accounted Greeks, we have a proof on the other hand in the forged Dodonean oracle,\* (which is utterly worthless, when cited, as it is by Dionysius, as a genuine monument of antiquity), that the Dodonean priests, even in a late age, remembered the affinity of the Italian Pelasgians with their own tribe, and were unwilling to renounce the advantages which might have been expected to accrue from it. The Agyleans retained their Pelasgian name, and continued to consult the Delphian oracle, at the time when in concert with the Carthaginians they attacked the Phocæan settlers in Corsica, who had fled from the dominion of Cyrus (about B.C. 540, A.U.C. 213).† How long or in what degree they had at that time become subject to the Etruscans, or whether the conquest of Agylla by the Etruscans had yet taken place, cannot now be ascertained; but in any case it is evident that a great proportion of the primitive population must have remained unchanged, and have been important enough to influence the public acts of the State.‡ The ancient town of Pyrgi § was the port of Agylla. Its very name is Greek; and it contained a Pelasgian temple of Juno Lucina (whom the Greeks identified with Eileithyia), which was formerly celebrated for its wealth, but was plundered by Dionysius of Syracuse soon after the capture of Rome by the Gauls.|| At some distance to the north-west along the coast was Gravis-cæ, which seems to have been the port of Tarquinii; and beyond Gravis-cæ was a spot which was marked by tradition as the royal dwelling of the Pelasgian king Malæotes, who reigned over the Pelasgians in this region, and in whose tribe were comprehended the Pelasgians of Agylla.¶ The tradition reported also that these Pelasgians under the conduct of their chief migrated into Greece, and that this was the tribe which appeared in Attica. Tarquinii itself was

\* Dion. i. 19.

† Herod. i. 166, 167.

‡ "That Agylla as then had not yet become Cære, is clear from her consulting the Delphic oracle; the Etruscans would have been content with their own aruspey."—Nieb. note 389, ed. 3.

§ "Pyrgi veteres," *Æn.* x. 184.

|| Strabo, v. 2, 8. Diod. Sic. xv. 14.

¶ Strabo, v. 2, 8.

\* Justin, xx. 1.

† App. B.C. v. 49. ‡ Dion. i. 21.

§ Cato, in Plin. iii. 5 (3). Ovid. Am. iii. El. 13. Fast. iv. 73.

¶ Dion. iv. 73. Solin. c. 8. ¶ Sil. It. viii. 476.

\*\* Plin. iii. 5 (8). Strabo, v. 2, 8. Dion. iii. 58.

of Pelasgian origin. Its foundation is ascribed by Justin to the Thessalians; that is, manifestly, to the Pelasgians, who founded Spina.\* In confirmation of the Pelasgian origin which Dionysius ascribes to Pisa or Pisæ, we find it reported on the authority of Cato that its first possessors were the Teutones, a nation of Grecian language. Another version of the tradition called them Teutæ, and the city itself Teuta.† Pliny (following Cato) called them Teutani, and assumed expressly that they were a Grecian tribe.‡ The appellation is, perhaps, connected with the names Teutamius and Teutamides, which appear in Pelasgian genealogies.§ This was, probably, the Italian tradition. The Grecian story, which was commonly adopted by the poets, derived the name of the city from Pisa in Peloponnesus; and its founders were represented, sometimes as emigrants of the age of Pelops, sometimes as the wandering followers of Nestor after the Trojan war.||

The country on the right of the Tiber, in which the Pelasgians settled, was called by the Greeks Tyrsenia, or Tyrrenia; its inhabitants Tyrseni, or Tyrreni.¶ We have already seen that a portion of the Pelasgian race in Greece bore the name of Tyrseni; and from the mode in which the premises have been stated the conclusion seems obvious, that this was a generic appellation, which the Pelasgians who migrated into Italy brought with them. This is the conclusion at which we shall arrive at last; but there are difficulties in the way, which it is necessary to discuss.

In the time of the earliest Grecian historians, the same region in which the Pelasgians settled was occupied by another people (at least the dominant part of the population was another people), of an entirely different race; the people whom the Romans called Tusci and Etrusci, and from whom the country derived the name of Etruria: and yet the Greeks applied the names Tyrseni and Tyrsenia to this people and to the country which they possessed. Thus two different races in distant regions bore the common name of Tyrseni; the Etruscans in Italy, and the Pelasgian

tribes on the north of the Ægean sea. The problem thus presented gave occasion to various solutions.

Some writers supposed that the Etruscans were in fact Pelasgians. This is the interpretation which Dionysius put upon the statement of Hellanicus,\* although the words which he quotes do not necessarily convey this notion. It is clear, however, that Hellanicus conceived that the Pelasgians did not bear the name of Tyrseni till after their settlement in Italy. The supposition of an identity of race between the Etruscans and Pelasgians Dionysius refutes by the testimony of Herodotus (as he understood it)† to their difference in language: and he adds his own testimony, that both the language and the manners of the Etruscans were peculiar, and bore no resemblance to those of any other people.‡ His evidence is of weight; for in his time the Etruscan was still a living tongue. In this matter even we ourselves are able to form a judgment; for very many Etruscan inscriptions are extant; and if their language were Pelasgian, we ought to be able to trace some similitude to some elements of the Greek; but no such resemblance can be discovered.§ In like manner, from ancient writers and from surviving works of art we have become acquainted with many points of the Etruscan superstition and mythology, which are wholly peculiar, and bear no analogy to the belief of the early Greeks.

A theory exactly the reverse of the preceding was conceived by other writers, especially by Myrsilus of Lesbos, and Philochorus who wrote of the antiquities of Attica. They supposed that the Tyrseni (by which name probably they understood the Etruscans) were an indigenous Italian people, who were visited with the anger of the gods, because, after vowing the tenth of their increase, they neglected to consecrate the tithe of their children. Thus they were driven by a plague of barrenness and by intestine dissensions to migrate both into Greece and into barbarous regions. Of this race the Tyrseni who visited Attica were believed to be a tribe, and the Tyrseni of the Ægean their descendants. It was said that

\* Just. xx. 1.

† Serv. on *Æn.* x. 179. ‡ Plin. iii. 5 (8).

§ Il. B. 843. Hellanicus in Dion. i. 28.

¶ Plin. iii. 5, 8. Rutil. Itin. i. 565 (in Cramer, vol. i. p. 174). Virg. *Æn.* x. 179. Strabo, v. 2, 5, &c.

¶ These are only an earlier and later form of the same word.

\* Dion. i. 28. † See note, p. 74. ‡ Dion. i. 130. § Niebuhr considers all the efforts of Lanzi to discover such a resemblance, and to interpret the Etruscan inscriptions, as unsuccessful.



from their migratory habits they acquired in the course of their wanderings the name of Pelargi or Storks, which was afterwards corrupted into Pelasgi. This etymology is absurd; but it seems to have been suggested by the opinion, that these Tyrseni were of a race altogether different from the genuine Pelasgians, and consequently that the identity of name must have been merely fortuitous. The name of the true Pelasgians was always derived from a mythic ancestor Pelagus.\* It is hardly worth while to argue further against such an hypothesis, since the earlier writers never doubted of the Tyrsenian Pelasgians being of the old Pelasgian stock: but even in the account of Myrsilus himself, the mention of the Cabiri among the gods to whom the Tyrseni vowed a tenth of their increase, is a mark that the traditions from which he composed his history spoke of Pelasgians.†

There was another hypothesis, more ingenious and more plausible, which was adopted by Dionysius himself. He admitted the settlement of the Pelasgians in Italy, and conceived that they established themselves in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tyrseni or Etruscans, an indigenous and very ancient people; that they were finally overpowered and dislodged by these Tyrseni, and so passed into Attica and other parts of Greece; and that in their migrations their proper national appellation was merged in the name of their more fortunate rivals; and, as they were known to have issued from the country called Tyrsenia, they were themselves called Tyrseni.‡ In this account it must be observed that Dionysius agrees with Pliny§ and other authors in representing the Tyrsenian or Etruscan nation as posterior to the Pelasgian in the territory which was occupied by both. When the Pelasgians first take possession of the country, the people with whom they are described as contending are the Umbrians, the Aborigines, and the Siculi. The Etruscans came upon them in the season of their decline from some adjacent region. But there is a very great improbability in the supposition that the fugitive nation would be called by the name of their conquerors; or that the emigrants

would receive a name from the appellation of the country which they had left, when that country could not begin to hear the appellation, till after they were in a great measure dislodged from it. It is as if that portion of the ancient population of Britain, which is said to have taken refuge in Armorica, had, instead of imparting the name of Britanny to the province, been themselves confounded under the title of Saxons or Angles.

The hypothesis of Dionysius involves the assumption, that the Tyrseni of Attica, and of the northern coasts of the Ægean sea, had emigrated originally from Italy. This was the tradition reported likewise by Strabo, where he points out Regisvilla near Gravisæ as the seat of the Pelasgian chief Malæotes, who with his people departed thence to Athens.\* The date of the migration is fixed about the time of the Trojan war, or soon after.† This hypothesis, therefore, is opposed by all the arguments which have been stated above, which tend to prove that the Tyrsenian Pelasgians of Lemnos and of the adjacent regions were not descended exclusively from the Tyrsenian Pelasgians of Attica; and still more by the mythic traditions, which speak of Tyrseni in times anterior to the appearance of the Pelasgi at Athens.‡

But moreover the authority for deriving the Pelasgians or Tyrseni of Attica from the Pelasgians or Tyrseni of Italy (upon the assumption of which derivation the hypotheses of Dionysius and Myrsilus respecting the double application of the name Tyrseni both entirely depend) is counterbalanced by the account of their proximate origin, which has been preserved by Strabo from the historian Ephorus.§ According to this account they came last from Bœotia. After the war of the Argives, celebrated by the poets as the expedition of the Epigoni, tribes of Thracians and Pelasgians had overrun the country, and had expelled the remnant of the Cadmeans.|| They were expelled in their

\* Strabo, v. 2, 8. See p. 75.

† Dion. i. 26. See p. 70. † See p. 71.

§ Strabo, ix. 2, 3, and 4. Ephorus was esteemed by Polybius a most excellent authority on the early Grecian history. Strabo, x. 3, 3. Modern critical historians believe him to have disguised and corrupted the old traditions. See Müller's Dorians, B. I. c. 7, § 5, and elsewhere.

|| These seem to be the same Thracians who expelled the Minyæ from Orchomenus, and drove them to seek shelter in Attica, where they settled about Munychia. Diodorus from Hellanicus, in Ulpian on Demosth. Orat. against Ctesiphon, p. 533.

\* Dion. i. 23, 28. Strabo, v. 2, 4, in fine. Serv. on Æn. viii. 600. Nieb. pp. 33, 34, and note 93, ed. 2, p. 40, n. 107, ed. 3.

† Dion. i. 23. Herod. ii. 51.

‡ Dion. i. 25, 26, 29.

§ N. H. iii. 5, (8).

turn by the Bœotians, an Æolian tribe, who had been dislodged from Arne in Thessaly by the Thessalian conquerors;\* and the Pelasgians took refuge in Attica. But there are circumstances in the story, which strongly mark the affinity between these Pelasgians and the Pelasgians of Dodona and Thesprotis;† and we may reasonably conjecture that this tribe had in fact issued from Thesprotis, in the same way as the Thesalians, but at a little earlier time. This conjecture tallies with the account of Pausanias, who makes Acarnania the first stage in their migration.‡ It is likewise strongly confirmed by a tradition preserved by a scholiast on Homer,§ which, by a variation before noticed as common, inverts the migration, and represents the Pelasgians of Dodona as settling there after being expelled from Bœotia by the Æolians of Arne. It is probably a part of the same inverted story which is reported by the same scholiast immediately afterwards|| on the authority of Alexander of Pleuron;¶ that the Helli or Selli, the ministers of Jupiter at Dodona, were a tribe descended from the Tyrseni. The just interpretation of this inverted migration and descent appears to be, that the Pelasgians who passed from Bœotia into Attica, had come originally from the neighbourhood of Dodona, and had brought from thence the generic name of Tyrseni; the same name which was carried into Italy by the Pelasgians who passed from the same regions across the Adriatic sea.

The hypothesis of Dionysius is exactly the reverse of the tradition, which has been related above in its best known form, as it is told by Herodotus; but which appears with such variations as to show that it was reported by many different authors, and in so mythological a shape, as to afford sufficient proof of its great antiquity:\*\* the tradition by which the Tyrseni of Italy were derived from the coasts of Asia Minor. The writers who have repeated this legend have agreed in considering it as an account of the origin of the Etruscans;

but upon a more accurate review it appears to be a record of the origin of the Pelasgic Tyrsenians. Meionia is pointed out as their primitive seat;\* and an affinity of race is marked between the Tyrseni of the Ægean and the Tyrseni of Italy. The legend, after the common fashion of legends which relate to the peopling of countries, connects the two extreme regions of the series occupied by this race by a fancied migration from one country immediately to the other.

If then we are to believe that the name Tyrseni in Italy belonged originally and properly to the Pelasgian population, the question still remains, how the Greek writers invariably called the Etruscans Tyrseni and Etruria Tyrsenia. The true solution of the problem is, that the country retained its early appellation, and the Etruscans who conquered it succeeded to the name of its former inhabitants. This explanation of the difficulty was given by Cluverius; and has been repeated and enforced with great learning and acuteness by Niebuhr.† Niebuhr observes, that the Etruscans had no more title to the name of Tyrsenians, "than the English to that of Britons, or the Spanish Creoles to that of Mexicans or Peruvians: the strange name was acquired in all the three cases in precisely the same manner." Just in the same way the Visigoths acquired the name of Spaniards; and the distinctive appellation of our Norman conquerors was merged in that of English. Cluverius instances the names of Bohemia and Bohemian, which have remained to the soil and population of the district occupied by the Gallic Boii, though they were expelled by the German Marcomanni,‡ and these by the Sclavonian Czechs. Many other examples of the same kind might be collected. The confusion was the more likely to arise in the case of the Etruscans, because, although a part of the Pelasgian population may have been driven out, there is reason to believe that a large proportion remained in the country, and submitted to the dominion of the conquerors.§ This is proved by the vestiges of Pelasgian customs and religious rites which were visible at Cortona, at Cære, at Falerii, and other

\* Thuc. i. 12, Pausan. x. 8, 4. See p. 73.

† *χαιζομένην τοῖς Πηλασγοῖς τὴν προφῆτιν διὰ τὸ ἀγγεῖν.*

‡ Pausan. i. 28, 3. Pausanias, when he said that they were originally Siceli, probably conceived like Dionysius that they migrated from Italy.

§ Pseud. Did. on Il. σ. 233. || On v. 235.

¶ A poet: Pausan. ii. 22. \*\* See pp. 71, 72, and note.

\* See p. 69.

† Cluv. Ital. Ant. L. ii. c. i. p. 429. Nieb. pp. 32, &c., and 89, ed. 2. pp. 38 and 103, ed. 3.

‡ Tac. Germ. cc. 28, 42.

§ Dion. i. 30, in fine.



places.\* We shall return to this subject when we treat of the Etruscans.

Niebuhr has remarked with great acuteness, that the distinct perception of the proper application of the name Tyrseni enables the inquirer to survey in a new light the history of the western coasts of Italy south of the Tiber.† The early traditions spoke of not a few Tyrsenian settlements in these parts; and the later writers supposed them to be Etruscan. But when they are referred to a very early age, it becomes manifest that we must understand them to be Pelasgian; for our historical evidence places the dominion of the Etruscans in these regions at a comparatively late period, and shows it to have been neither wide nor lasting. It was in this sense that Latium was Tyrsenian; and Hesiod in his heroic genealogies told how Agrius and Latinus, sons of Ulysses and Circe, ruled over the renowned Tyrsenians.‡ In this sense we are to understand the supposition of many writers that Rome was a Tyrrhenian city.§ One legend said expressly, that Romus, king of the Latins, expelled from Rome the Tyrrheni, who came from Thessaly and Lydia.|| Appian called the Rutuli, the people of Turnus, Tyrrheni.¶ When Cato affirmed that the Volscian nation was formerly subject to the power of the Etruscans,\*\* it is probable that the true interpretation of the statement is merely that Pelasgian Tyrsenians occupied the country west of the Liris, which was afterwards possessed by the Volsci. This is the foundation of the legend of the conquests of Mezentius. But it is chiefly in Campania that we find traces of the Tyrseni; and here they have been most decidedly mistaken for Etruscans. The examination of the true date of the Etruscan dominion in Campania belongs to the next section. Here we may observe, that according to Strabo Herculaneum and Pompeii were once held by Tyrrheni and Pelasgi.†† The geographer by the two names meant to denote two nations; but it is probable that his authorities spoke only of one. Marcina, near Salernum, was founded by Tyrrheni;‡‡ and Pliny has not scrupled to assign to

the Tuscans the whole region from Surrentum to the Silarus;\* but that these Tyrrheni or Tuscans were really Pelasgians is indicated by the temple of the Argive Juno on this coast; a temple so ancient, that its foundation was ascribed to Jason.† It is only of Pelasgian Tyrrhenians that we can understand the statement of chronologers quoted by Velleius, that Capua and Nola were built by the Tuscans about forty-eight years before Rome.‡

But there are traces of the Pelasgians on these coasts, which are not rendered doubtful by any equivocal name. How greatly the Pelasgians contributed to the early population of Latium, and to the formation of the Latin language, is a question which must be reserved for a separate section (§ 10). But the reader will bear in mind the interpretation which has been already suggested of the Greek legends which refer the origin of cities to founders of the heroic ages. He will find the foundation of Ardea, and the origin of the family of Turnus, referred to the Argive Danaë.§ Another legend described Romus, Antias, and Ardeas, as three sons of Ulysses and Circe, who founded three cities, and called them after their names.|| Cato related, that the Volscian plains were formerly peopled with the Aborigines;¶ but we know that Cato applied the name of Aborigines to a people whom he believed to be Greeks, who had migrated from Achaia many generations before the Trojan war.\*\* These dwellers in the plain therefore were manifestly Pelasgians, who, in a later age, were dispossessed by the Opici, the native tribes who had maintained themselves in the mountains: and this tradition is the more genuine form of the legend of the dominion of the Etruscans over the Volsci before noticed. Dionysius affirms expressly, that the Pelasgians expelled the Aurunci from a large portion of the Campanian plains, and took possession of the country; and, in proof of his position, he adduces the existence of an ancient town, Larissa, of which in his age nothing remained but the name.†† Conon in his book on Italy wrote, that the Sarrastians, the people of Nuceria on the Sarnus and of other neighbouring

\* See pp. 74, 75.

† Pp. 36, 59, ed. 2. pp. 43, 73, ed. 3.

‡ Theog. 1011—1015. § Dion. i. 29.

¶ Plut. Rom.

¶ In Phot. Bib. See also Nieb. p. 36, ed. 2; p. 43, ed. 3. \*\* In Serv. on Æn. xi. 567.

†† v. 4, 8.

‡‡ Strabo, v. 4, 13.

\* N. H. iii. 5 (9).

† Plin. ib. Strabo, vi. 1, 1.

‡ Vell. i. 7. See Nieb. p. 59, ed. 2; pp. 73, 74, ed. 3. § Æn. vii. 371 and 410.

¶ Dion. i. 72. Compare Hesiod cited above.

¶ In Priscian v.

\*\* Dion i. 11.

†† Dion. i. 21. On the name Larissa, see note, p. 69.

towns, were originally Pelasgians from Peloponnesus.\* Peloponnesus is here mentioned as the primitive country of the Pelasgians, as Arcadia and Thessaly in other legends. But there is an historical memorial, which confirms the more reasonable hypothesis which has been before suggested, that the Italian Pelasgians passed into Italy from the coasts of Epirus. Servius informs us, on the authority of two Greek historians, that there was a royal family in Epirus, the Campylids, who were believed to be descended from an ancient king, Campus; that the Chaonians or Epirots were themselves called Campi, and their country Campania.†

Of the extension of the Pelasgian race over the southern parts of Italy, we have evidence of a different nature, and derived from different sources, than the partially historical accounts which are given of their settlement in the middle regions of the same country. The Ænотrians were the greatest nation in the south in old times, before the establishment of the Greek colonies (before B.C. 700). The historian Antiochus of Syracuse‡ seems to have considered the names Ænотria and Italy as equivalent, and to have applied them strictly to the small extreme peninsula intercepted between the Napetine and Scylletic bays.§ But he allowed that the Chones, who dwelt along the western side of the gulf of Tarentum as far as Siris and Metapontum, were an Ænотrian race; and he acknowledged likewise the existence of the same race along the Tyrrhene sea; and thus extended the name of Ænотria to all the country south of a line drawn from Metapontum to the mouth of the river Laus.|| But the name reached still further. The territory in which Elea was founded by the Phocæans was called Ænотria by Herodotus;¶ and the islands which lay off it bore the name of Ænотrian. Ænотrians held the high inland country above Metapontum.\*\* So the name may be extended to all the country south of the Silarus; that is, to the coasts from Tarentum to Poseidonia. Antiochus himself gave this extent to the equivalent name of Italy.†† Sophocles in his Triptolemus, where

he enumerated the regions on the coasts of Italy, named none on the western side but Ænотria, Tyrrhenia, and Liguria.\*

Now the Ænотrians were said by the mythic genealogers to have taken their name from an Arcadian chief, Ænотrus, the son of Lycaon, and grandson of Pelasgus. When the Lycaonids divided among them the kingdom of their father, Ænотrus, dissatisfied with his little portion, sailed across the Ionian Gulf with his brother Peucetius and many followers. Peucetius settled with a part of their people in Iapygia; and the Peuceetians in that region were named after him. Ænотrus proceeded to the further peninsula of southern Italy, and there established the Ænотrians. This migration is said to have taken place seventeen generations before the Trojan war, and to have been the earliest colony, whether of Greeks or Barbarians, of which any memory was preserved.‡

Such a legend cannot be considered historical; but it may be received as a national genealogy, marking the affinity of the Ænотrians with the great Pelasgian race. This testimony is confirmed by other evidence. When the Greek colonies were established round the whole coast of southern Italy, the native inhabitants in their neighbourhood were reduced to a state of villanage, and stood in a relation which resembled that of the Helots in Lacedæmon, the Penestæ in Thessaly, or the Gymnesii in Argos. These serfs must have been Ænотrians; and we find that they were commonly called Pelasgi.§ This proof is decisive; but the position is still further confirmed by the occurrence of the same geographical names in Ænотria and in the Pelasgic regions on the eastern coasts of the Ionian Gulf. The name of the Ænотrian tribe, the Chones, appears to be the same as that of the Chaones in Epirus;§ and a town Pandosia, and a river Acheron, were to be found in Italy, as well as in Thesprotia; an identity of name which gave occasion to an ambiguous oracle fatal to Alexander the Molossian.|| Moreover, we find in Ænотria numerous traditions of foundations by heroes of the Trojan war;

\* Serv. on Æn. vii. 738. † Serv. on Æn. iii. 334, 5.

‡ Contemporary with Herodotus. He wrote a Sicilian history in nine books, beginning from Coccalus, king of the Sicani, and ending with Olymp. 89.1, or B.C. 424. (Diod. Sic. xii. 71.)

§ Dion. i. 35. Strabo, vi. 1, 4. See Outline of Gen. Hist. c. ix. § 1. || Strabo, ib.

¶ i. 167.

\*\* Strabo, vi. 1, 15.

†† Dion, i. 73. Italus and Italia appear to have

been indigenous names; Ænотrus and Ænотria appellations used by the Greeks.

\* Dion, i. 12.

‡ Dion. i. 11 and 12. Pherecydes in Dion. Paus. Arcad. c. 3.

§ Steph. Byz. v. *Χῆσος*. Enstath; on Dion. Perieg. v. 533. See Cicero de Fin. ii. 4, and Ernesti's note.

|| See Nieb. p. 47, ed. 2; p. 57, ed. 3.

|| Liv. viii. 24. Strabo, vi. 1, 5.



legends of which the character has been already explained. Thus the foundation of a city Chone above the promontory of Crimisa, from which the Chones were said to have taken their name, was ascribed to Philoctetes;\* and the Chonian Siris was reported to have been built by Trojan fugitives, who brought thither in safety the Palladium, the image of the Ilian Athena.†

The very little that we know of the history of the Ænotrians is preserved to us chiefly from Antiochus the Syracusan. Tradition reported, that, when they first settled in Italy, they found still earlier inhabitants,‡ who might be supposed to be of the same race with the Ausonians who fled from the Iapyges,§ and the Aurunci whom the Tyrsenian Pelasgians expelled from Campania.|| But Hellanicus called them Elymi, and reported that they passed into Sicily.¶ The genealogers spoke of Elymus as a Tyrsenian hero;\*\* and Thucydides has preserved a legend of the Trojan extraction of the Sicilian Elymi;†† traces which lead to a conjecture that the Elymi were Pelasgians as well as the Ænotri. Two tribes of the Ænotrians are distinguished: the Itali or Italietes in the south and west; the Chones towards the north and east, on the borders of Iapygia. "They were a pastoral people, till a good and wise man, Italus, arose among them, and became their king, and made them apply themselves to the tillage of the soil. He gave them other laws, and established the custom of public meals or messes, which some of his descendants observe even at this day." Such was the national tradition preserved by Antiochus.‡‡ He told likewise, how, when Italus grew old, Morges reigned in his stead, and extended his empire to the furthest limits which have been assigned to Ænotria.§§ Pandosia was the seat of the old Ænotrian kings.|||| Beyond these traditions we know nothing of the Ænotrians, till at a later time they began to fall under the dominion of the Greek colonists.

Chone, which has been mentioned above, became subject to Crotona: and when the Ionians of Colophon fled from the growing empire of the Lydians (about the end of the first century of

Rome), they took possession of Siris, the name of which they changed to Polieium, and massacred the Chonian inhabitants.\* So also at a later time the Achæan settlers at Metapontum were engaged in war with the Ænotrians of the inland country.† These Ænotrians must have been among the last who retained their independence. A great part of the population, as has been before observed, was reduced into a state of villanage by the Greek cities: some more fortunate portions were admitted to the rights of citizenship. Thus gradually the Ænotrian Pelasgians were confounded with the predominant Hellenic settlers. The Greeks, however, were not the only enemies with whom the Ænotrians had to contend. In the more northern inland country they were attacked by the growing power of the Samnites and Lucanians.‡ When the Lucanians had made themselves masters of all the South of Italy, and destroyed for ever the dominion of the Greek cities, the slaves who revolted under the conduct of discontented Lucanian leaders, and established their independence under the name of Brutians,§ were probably in a great measure the remains of the Ænotrian serfs.||

A question remains respecting the origin of the Siceli or Siculi. The Roman traditions represent this people as settled in Latium and in the South of Etruria.¶ They dwelt with the Liburni on the coast of the Adriatic, in the region which afterwards became Picenum.\*\* When the Locrians settled on the Zephyrian promontory, the natives, whom they defrauded of their lands, were Siceli.†† The same people dwelt anciently in all the territory of Rhegium.‡‡ Even in the Peloponnesian war Siceli were still to be found in the south of Italy.§§ But the nation survived longest in the island into which they passed, and to which they imparted their name.|||| Philistus, the Syracusan historian, stated expressly, that this

\* Strabo, vi. 1, 3.

† Dion. i. 12.

‡ Dion. i. 21.

\*\* Steph. Byz. v. 'Αἰώνι.

†† Aristot. Pol. vii. 9. Dion. i. 35.

§§ Dion. i. 73.

† Strabo, vi. 1, 14.

‡ Dion. i. 22.

¶ Dion. i. 22.

†† Thuc. vi. 2.

‡‡ Dion. i. 35.

|||| Strabo, vi. 1, 5.

\* Strabo, vi. 1, 14.

† Strabo, vi. 1, 2.

‡ Nieb. pp. 51, 78, ed. 2. 62, 97, ed. 3.

¶ Dion. i. 16, 20, 21. Plin. iii. v. (9). Serv. on Æn. xi. 317. Varro De L.L. iv. 10. (v. 20, ed. Speng.) A Roma orti Siculi, ut annales nostri veteres dicunt.

\*\* See p. 68.

†† Polyb. xii. 5. By another account they are said to have settled in Tyrsenia. Eustath. on Dion. Perieg. p. 364.

‡‡ Antioch. in Strabo, vi. 1, 6.

§§ Thuc. vi. 2.

† Strabo, vi. 1, 15.

§ See below, in § 7.

¶ See below, in § 7.

¶ Dion. i. 16, 20, 21. Plin. iii. v. (9). Serv. on Æn. xi. 317. Varro De L.L. iv. 10. (v. 20, ed. Speng.) A Roma orti Siculi, ut annales nostri veteres dicunt.

\*\* See p. 68.

†† Polyb. xii. 5. By another account they are said to have settled in Tyrsenia. Eustath. on Dion. Perieg. p. 364.

‡‡ Antioch. in Strabo, vi. 1, 6.

§§ Thuc. vi. 2.

¶ p. 62.

tribe, which came over from Italy, was a tribe of Ligurians under the command of Sicelus, the son of Italus, and that from him they were named Siceli.\* Hel-  
 lanicus pronounced them to be Ausonians who fled from the Iapyges, and who took their name from a king Sice-  
 lus; an account not necessarily incon-  
 sistent with the preceding.† Niebuhr  
 has maintained the theory that they  
 were Pelasgians. We will proceed  
 therefore to examine the grounds of his  
 judgment.

The most definite traditions concern-  
 ing the Siceli are preserved from  
 Antiochus the Syracusan. These it  
 is necessary to state as nearly as pos-  
 sible in the words in which they are re-  
 ported to us; although they involve a  
 repetition of some circumstances which  
 have been already mentioned in speak-  
 ing of the Cœnotrians. He related, that  
 the Cœnotrians anciently held that terri-  
 tory which in his own age was called  
 Italy;‡ that is, the district cut off by a  
 line drawn from Metapontum to the river  
 Laus;§ that after a time a chief Italus  
 raised himself to power among them,  
 and united a larger part of the nation  
 than had yet been subject to one govern-  
 ment; that from him his people were  
 named Itali, and the peninsula cut off  
 by the Scyllætic and Napetine bays  
 Italia;|| that, when Italus grew old, Mor-  
 ges succeeded him in his kingdom, from  
 whom the people were called Morgetes;  
 and that Italia then embraced all the  
 coasts from Tarentum to Poseidonia:  
 that in the time of Morges a man came  
 from Rome, a fugitive whose name was  
 Sicelus: that this Sicelus was enter-  
 tained by Morges; but that he made  
 use of practices to obtain a separate  
 dominion, and so divided the nation:  
 that thus the people, who were origin-  
 ally Cœnotrians, became Siceli and Mor-  
 getes and Italiætes:¶ that the Siceli  
 were forced by armies of Cœnotrians and  
 Opici to quit the continent, and pass  
 over into the island:\*\* that the point  
 from which they made their passage  
 was the territory of Rhegium, which  
 was held by the Siceli and Morgetes:  
 that both these tribes were cast out by  
 the Cœnotrians: and that both Siceli  
 and Morgetes continued to exist among  
 the barbarous tribes of Sicily.††

This account is not very clear; and  
 it does not by itself make out completely  
 Niebuhr's position. It might seem to  
 point to a conclusion not inconsistent  
 with the tradition of Philistus: that the  
 Siceli were a tribe which had migrated  
 from a distant region, and established  
 itself in Cœnotria, and partially blended  
 itself with the Cœnotrians, but not in  
 such a manner as to escape the enmity  
 of the great body of the nation. Other  
 legends appear to connect the nations  
 rather more closely. Thucydides relates  
 that Italy was so named from Italus,  
 who was a king of the Siceli at a time  
 when that people still dwelt on the con-  
 tinent.\* Servius has reported the in-  
 verted tradition, that Italus, king of the  
 Siculi, migrated from Sicily to the re-  
 gions about the Tiber, and called the  
 country Italy from his own name.† A  
 genealogy, in which there seems a simi-  
 lar inversion, connects the Siceli with  
 the Chonian Cœnotrians. Morges is  
 called the king of Sicelia, and Siris his  
 daughter.‡ Even Philistus connected  
 the Siceli and Itali by calling Sicelus  
 the son of Italus. Yet, perhaps, these  
 traditions and genealogies express no-  
 thing more than the obvious fact, that  
 the Siceli passed into the island from  
 the country of the Itali. Thucydides  
 mentions only the Opici as the people  
 from whom they fled; and thus avoids  
 the confusion of Antiochus, who repre-  
 sents Cœnotrians and Opici as acting to-  
 gether against a people partly Cœno-  
 trian. If the Siculi were Pelasgians on  
 the Tiber, the Opici were certainly the  
 nation by which they were dislodged.

There is, however, a tradition which  
 expressly connects the Siceli with the  
 Pelasgians. Pausanias says, that the  
 Pelasgians, who settled in Attica, and  
 built the wall of the Acropolis, were  
 originally Siceli, and that they migrated  
 first into Acarnania.§ Probably Pau-  
 sanias, like other writers, supposed  
 these Pelasgi to have been driven from  
 Italy. But that the Attic Pelasgi really  
 bore the name of Siceli is made more  
 likely by the circumstance, that there  
 was in the neighbourhood of Athens a  
 hill called Sicelia.|| The name of Siceli  
 is not inconsistent with the arguments  
 by which we have before endeavoured  
 to shew that the Pelasgians of Attica  
 came originally from Thesprotis:¶ for

\* P. 65. † Dion. i. 22.  
 ‡ Dion. i. 12. § Strabo, vi. l. 4.  
 || Dion. i. 35. Strabo, ib.  
 ¶ Dion. i. 12 and 73. \*\* Dion. i. 22.  
 †† Strabo, vi. l. 6; 2, 4.

\* Thuc. vi. 2. † Serv. on Æn. i. 2.  
 ‡ Etym. M. v. Σίγῆς.  
 § Paus. i. 23, 3.  
 || Paus. viii. 11, 12. ¶ See p. 78.



Niebuhr has adduced evidence to prove that the Siceli were anciently a people of Epirus;\* and if this were the case, it is easy to conceive how the race and name might pass on the one side into Attica, on the other into Italy; in fact, Siceli would appear to be equivalent to Tyrseni. On this hypothesis, it is not at all strange that Siculi should be found in company with Liburni on the opposite coast of the Adriatic sea.

Such are the arguments for the affinity of the Siculi to the Pelasgians. The reader must decide whether they outweigh the positive authority of Philistus. The most probable conclusion seems to be, that the Siculi were a Pelasgian tribe settled near the Tiber; that by the pressure of the Opici, or native Italian tribes, they were forced to retreat southward among the kindred nation of the Cœnotrians; that they were partially mixed with them for a time; but that at length, being straitened for room, they were compelled to pass onward into the neighbouring island. This event is placed by Thucydides about 300 years before the first settlement of the Greeks in Sicily (about B.C. 1030).

The Pelasgian tribes in Apulia will be mentioned hereafter.

§ 6. In the attempt to investigate the early history of the Ligurians, Venetians, Umbrians, and Italian Pelasgians, mention has been made so frequently of the Etruscans, that the examination of their origin and history is obviously the next step in our researches. The Etruscans were the most powerful people in Italy before the rise of the Roman dominion. They appear to have reached the height of their power at the close of the kingly period of Rome; and they were the most formidable enemies of the infant republic. Their religious institutions and ceremonies, and especially their modes of divination, were adopted by the Romans, and influenced in the greatest

degree their manners and habits, their private and public life. The civilization and learning of the Romans, before they became acquainted with Greece, was Etruscan. All these circumstances make the Etruscans peculiarly important to the student of Roman history. Even at this day, the ruins of their cities, their massy style of architecture, the plentiful remains of their works of art, the inscriptions in their well-known characters but unknown tongue, conspire to make them an object of singular curiosity and attention. The Etruscan empire was indeed the greatest in ancient Italy. It stretched from sea to sea, and from the Alps to the Tiber;\* though it did not comprehend all the nations included within these boundaries. The district on the south of the Apennines, divided from Liguria by the Macra, and enclosed by the Apennines and the Tiber, is the region best known as Etruria. It was here that the Etruscans waged their wars with the Romans; here they retained possession of the soil, after they had become subject to Rome: here the monuments of Etruscan art have been discovered: and a portion of the country has retained the name of its old inhabitants even to our own days. But evidence is not wanting of the wider extent of the Etruscan empire. On the northern side of the Apennines they possessed all the regions about the Po to the very foot of the Alps,† except the district of the Veneti on the east, and on the west the country beyond the Ticinus in which the Ligurians maintained their ground.‡ They held therefore the fertile plains in the centre of Northern Italy. In this region their chief city was Felsina, which, as a Roman colony, received the name of Bononia (Bologna).§ Mantua was a town of the Etruscans; but the tradition which Virgil has preserved of the division of its population is an argument that they became possessed of it by conquest. The Etruscans were the chief of the three tribes which occupied its territory.|| In Mantua the remains of an Etruscan population survived the conquests both of the Gauls and Romans.¶ Melpum on the north of the Po, a wealthy town destroyed by the Gauls on the same day

\* Vol. i. p. 56, ed. 3, and in the Rhenish Museum, I. p. 256. Echetus, the king of Epirus, is said to have reigned at Bucheta in Sicelia, and to have been king of the Siceli (Odys. x. 83, 84, and the Scholiast, on the authority of Mnaseas, scholar of Aristarchus, and Marsyas). By Siceli in the Odyssey a people of Epirus seems to be meant. The proposal of sending a person to be sold as a slave among the Siceli seems much the same as the threat of sending him to Epirus (compare Od. T. 383 with x. 84 and 114). That the people of Ithaca should speak thus familiarly of exportation to the island of Sicily is inconsistent with the fables of the Cyclops, &c. If the Sicelian old woman, who waited on Laertes, came from Epirus, there is a peculiar propriety in the exclamation, Od. q. 375, &c.

\* Liv. v. 33.

† Liv. v. 33. Polyb. ii. 17. Diod. Sic. xiv. 113. Plut. Camill.

‡ Above, p. 64.

§ Plin. iii. 15. (20).

|| En. x. 200, &c., and Serv. Nieb. p. 254, note 710, ed. 2. p. 291. n. 757, ed. 3.

¶ Plin. iii. 19 (23). cf. Strabo, v. 1, 10.

on which Camillus took Veii (A.U.C. 359),\* was without doubt an Etruscan city. Another Etruscan settlement was Atria, a rich trading city near the mouth of the Po, which gave its name to the Adriatic sea.† In this region the Etruscans displayed their skill in the most useful works. They made artificial mouths, or cleared the natural outlets, so that the waters of the river might gain an easier passage to the sea; and they cut channels by which they flooded the swamps, and gradually raised their level by the alluvial deposits.‡ Scylax names the Etruscans as possessing a small portion of this coast between the Umbrians and the Gauls.

Not only did the Etruscan empire extend to the foot of the Alps, but, according to Livy, the Alpine nations were of Etruscan origin, especially the Ræti; though their manners were savage, and they retained no mark of their affinity but a similarity in their language, and that too was hardened and roughened as becomes the tongue of the mountaineer.§ Pliny and Trogus conceived the Ræti to be the remains of the Etruscans on the Po, who took refuge in the mountains from the invading Gauls.|| The situation of the Ræti has been described before.¶

Before we inquire into the origin of the people who held this wide dominion, we must observe that the names *Tusci* and *Etrusci*, by which they were called by the Italians, were as foreign to the nation as the name *Tyrseni*, which was applied to them by the Greeks. They gave themselves the name of *Rasena*, which they believed to have been borne by one of their ancient heroes.\*\* Niebuhr justly remarks, that this statement should be understood only of the ruling people: their vassals might retain their old appellation.††

The origin of the *Rasenæ* is a point on which we are altogether destitute of credible information. The Roman writers, and especially the poets, commonly adopted the opinion that they were a Lydian colony; and in the age of Tiberius the Etruscans themselves at least

affected to believe this tradition.\* But it has been already shown, that the legends upon which this opinion was founded, related, not to the Etruscans (*Rasenæ*), but to the Pelasgian *Tyrseni*; and that with regard even to them they merely denoted an affinity of race between the *Tyrseni* of Italy, and the *Tyrseni* of the *Ægæan*.† Nevertheless, this opinion seems to have modified all accounts of the establishment of the Etruscans. The Lydian colony was necessarily supposed to have arrived by sea; and consequently their first settlements were believed to be on the coast, between the mouths of the Tiber and the Arno. From this coast it was believed that they forced their way into the inland country, till they crossed the Apennines, and occupied the region on their northern side and the plains about the Po. Thus the twelve cities of the Southern Etruria were supposed to be the mother cities of the nation; and the twelve towns, which were said to have been built beyond the Apennines, were considered as their colonies.‡ Strabo implies a belief that the military movements of the nation were in this direction.§ Tarcon, the mythic founder, not only of *Tarquini*, but of all the twelve Southern cities,|| was reported to have crossed the Apennines, and to have built likewise the twelve Northern cities.¶

But if the foreign story of the Lydian colony be set aside, there is no native tradition which can be substituted in its place. Yet the Etruscans cannot be considered as an indigenous people of middle Italy. It has been already shewn, that, when the Pelasgians settled in the country, they found it occupied by the Umbrians, and the people whom Varro called *Aborigines*.\*\* The Ligurians probably possessed a portion of the

\* Tac. Ann. iv. 53. See other authorities in Cramer's Italy, vol. i. 148. That Timæus reported nearly the same story as Herodotus we know from Tertullian De Spectac. 5. Cramer remarks that the silence of Livy must be considered as unfavourable to the Lydian hypothesis.

† pp. 71, 78. ‡ Liv. v. 33. § v. 1, 10.

|| Strabo, v. 2, 2. Cato in Serv. on *Æn.* x. 179.

¶ See Niebuhr, pp. 94, 95, ed. 2, p. 114, ed. 3. By Lycophron, Cato, and Strabo, Tarcon is described as the brother, son, or companion of Tyrrhenus, and so incorporated with the Lydian fable. But we hear nothing of him in the earlier forms of that story: and it seems not unlikely that the legend of the early wise Tarcon, who was born grey-headed (Strabo l.c.), was a genuine Etruscan tradition, which has been violently mixed up with the foreign tale. Possibly Tarcon has been confounded with Tages. See p. 90, and compare Strabo with Cic. de Div. II. 23.

\*\* P.

\* Corn. Nep. in Plin. iii. 17, (21).

† Liv. v. 33. Plin. iii. 16, (20).

‡ Plin. lb. Nieb. p. 103, ed. 2, p. 129, ed. 3.

§ Liv. v. 33.

|| Plin. iii. 20, (24). Justin xx. 5. ¶ p. 64.

\*\* Dion. i. 30.

†† Nieb. p. 110, note 344, ed. 3. Niebuhr considers that the name *Tusci* is only a variation of *Tyrseni*. Probably it is so; but then so likewise are *Etrusci*, and *Etruri* (the form from which the name of the country was made). The radical letters are the same in all.



coast. The Siculi, even if it be uncertain whether they were Ligurians or Pelasgians, were certainly not Etruscans. In these regions not a vacant space is left for the germ of this great nation. It appears therefore that they were invaders; but whence did they come? The most probable conjecture seems to be, that the direction of their conquests has been reverted in the common accounts; and that they issued from the Rætian Alps, occupied first the plain of the Po, and then, after a contest with the Umbrians, passed the Apennines, and established themselves in the country to the south of them, as the conquerors of the Pelasgians. This conjecture is confirmed by the improbability of the account which is given of their settlement in the Rætian Alps. Fugitives, who had not been able to resist the Gauls either in the field or in fortified towns, could never have dislodged the mountaineers from their strong holds. A conquered people will take refuge in mountainous districts from the overwhelming irruption of their conquerors; but it will be in the mountains of their own land. The natural movement of the population expelled by the Gauls would have been to fall back upon the main body of their nation in their oldest seats south of the Apennines (which, with the swamps between them and the Po, actually formed an available line of defence), not to insulate themselves in the northern mountains. But if Rætia was the mother-country, whence the Etruscans descended into the plains of Italy, it may easily be believed, that a part of the nation staid behind, and to them the dwellers about the Po may have returned, when they sought shelter from the terrible Gauls.\* It may be esteemed a confirmation of this hypothesis of the origin of the Etruscans, that they believed the north to be the seat of their gods.†

The little that we can gather of Etruscan history seems to indicate the gradual extension of the nation towards the south. We have evidence that the Ræti spread themselves below the foot of the Alps; for they are said to have been joint founders of Verona.‡ The Etruscans contended with the Umbrians for the country between the Po and the Apennines; but surely this contest could never have been maintained, if they had

possessed a country divided from Umbria only by the Tiber. An invasion in their rear would have recalled them from foreign conquest. It is in the south of Etruria that we find the most distinct traces of the previous occupation of the Pelasgians; whence we may conclude, that here the Etruscan dominion was established latest. That it was still recent at Agylla or Cære, in the beginning of the third century of the city, has been shown above.\* The close connexion between Etruria and Rome under its last three kings was formed about the same period. It was but a little earlier that they established themselves beyond the Tiber by taking possession of Fidenæ, which was originally an Alban town.† The efforts of the Etruscans were more manifestly directed towards the same quarter in the wars of Porsena against Rome and Aricia;‡ of the former of which at least the result was very different from that which Roman vanity has suffered to appear in the vulgar legend.

The course of our investigation has brought us to the consideration of the Etruscan dominion in Campania. If this were so ancient, as it was commonly believed to be by the Roman writers and the later Greeks, the reasoning advanced above would fall to the ground. But it has been already shewn, that the accounts of these writers are drawn from a mistaken interpretation of traditions, which related to the occupation of this coast by the Pelasgian Tyrseni.§ So much apparent evidence is cleared away by this explanation, that it would not be a very hazardous speculation to maintain that the Etruscans never established any dominion in Campania; and this hypothesis would be confirmed by the fact, that no genuine Etruscan monuments, neither inscriptions nor works of art, have been discovered in the country.|| We have, however, the express authority of Livy,¶ that Vulturum, which was taken by the Samnites, in A. U. C. 332, (B. C. 421) and thenceforward called Capua, was a city of the Etruscans.\*\* The Etruscans had been

\* p. 75. † Dion, ii. 53, Plin. iii. 9. Liv. i. 15 & 27. ‡ pp. 30, 31. § p. 79.

|| Nieb. p. 61, ed. 2. p. 76 ed. 3. ¶ Liv. iv. 37.

\*\* Capua bore that name after it fell into the possession of the Samnites. There seems an indication in Dion, i. 73, and in Etym. M. v. *Καρύνη*, that it was known among the Greeks as a Pelasgo-Tyrsenian city, under the same name. This is likely, if the etymology of the name Campani, adduced above (p. 80) is well founded; for the names Capua and

\* Nieb. pp. 91, 92, ed. 2. pp. 111, 112, ed. 3.

† Festus, v. *sinistræ aves*, ‡ p. 64.

so harassed in war by the Samnites, that they had been forced to admit them as fellow-possessors of their city and territory; and the new settlers, after a day of religious feasting, rose by night and massacred the old inhabitants. This testimony is explicit; yet it is possible that even here Livy, or the authority upon which he relied (perhaps Timæus), confounded Tyrsenians and Etruscans. If, however, we assume that the Etruscans were really masters of Vulturnum, and proceed to inquire into the time of their establishment in this country, we shall find that it must be comparatively recent. We read in Dionysius‡ the legend of the war which the Greek city Cuma sustained in the sixty-fourth Olympiad (B. C. 524) against a vast host of the Etruscans, who dwelt about the Adriatic Sea, and who at a later time were expelled by the Gauls, and with them of Umbrians and Daunians, and many of the other barbarous tribes. This legend must have been taken from Cumæan chronicles; and it is expressly affirmed, that Cuma was then the mistress of the most fertile portion of the Campanian plains. It follows therefore that the dominion of the Etruscans in Campania was later than this date; and this might be considered as their first attempt to establish it. But if this legend be closely examined, it will be found to afford but unsteady ground for historical belief. If the Etruscans made war upon Cuma, we should expect the attack to have proceeded from the cities in the Tyrrhene Sea; and that a people so powerful by sea, as the Etruscans were at the time assigned, would have assailed a maritime city with a naval force, as they actually did in B. C. 474. Instead of this, the tumultuary host comes against Cuma by land; and the Etruscans are represented as descending from the coasts of the Adriatic, and bringing with them Umbrians and Daunians; so that their huge column, continually increasing as it advanced, must have moved along the eastern side of the Apennines, and crossed them where the ridge divides the Aufidus and the other waters of Daunia from the rivers of Campania. Such a movement may

have been caused by the pressure of the Etruscans upon the Umbrians; and the Etruscans themselves may at last have penetrated into Campania. But it is far more likely, if we consider the character of the legend (which the enormous multitude of the barbarians,\* and the portent of the rivers flowing backward to their sources, show to be popular and poetical), that the Etruscans were introduced into a tradition of an irruption of the barbarians from a recollection of the really historical wars which the Cumæans sustained against them at a somewhat later time. It would make the story of the popular favourite Aristodemus more symmetrical, that the Etruscans should be the enemy whom he discomfited in both his great achievements. The barbarian host may have consisted of Umbrians, set in motion as we have conjectured above;† or, as Niebuhr conjectures, of Opicans dislodged from the mountains by the advance of the Sabellian tribes.‡ Within a few years, however, the Cumæans really came into collision with the Etruscans. When the army of Porsena, after quitting Rome, advanced to attack Aricia, the Aricines besought assistance from Cuma. Aristodemus, who had distinguished himself in the former war, was sent with ships and men to their aid, and mainly contributed to the defeat of the Etruscans.§ By the popularity which he acquired from this success, he was enabled to overthrow the aristocratical government of Cuma, and to set up himself as tyrant. The Roman chronology placed this event in the year of the city 247 (or B. C. 506). About thirty years later (B. C. 474) the Etruscans attacked Cuma: the Cumæans called in the aid of Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse: and their combined forces effected the deliverance of the city by destroying the Etruscan fleet.|| About this time the Etruscans must have established themselves in Campania, if they ever established themselves at all in that country. Cato stated expressly, that Capua was founded by the Tuscans only 260 years before it was taken in the second Punic war; and that Nola was founded by them shortly afterwards.¶ According

and Campani are manifestly connected. If then the city were anciently called Capua, but during an intervening period bore the name of Vulturnum, and then recovered the name of Capua, there would be strong reason to believe that, while it was called Vulturnum, it was in the hands of foreigners.

\* Dion. vii. 3.

\* 518,000 men, who were routed by 5100 Cumæans.

† Compare Plin. iii. 5 (9). (Campaniam) tennere Osc, Græci, Umbri, Tusci, Campani.

‡ See Nieb. p. 75, ed. 3; and below, §§ 7 and 8.

§ Dion. vii. 5, 6. See above p. 31, where Aristodemus is called "the tyrant" by mistake.

|| Diod. Sic. xi. 51. Pind. Pyth. i. 141, and Schol.

¶ Vell. Pat. i. 7.



to this account, the origin of Capua would be placed in B. C. 471. That the settlement of the Etruscans in Campania was not earlier than this date is indicated by Strabo and Pliny, who distinctly make the period of their dominion posterior to that of the Cumæans.\* The statement of Polybius, that the Etruscans possessed the Phlegræan plains about Capua and Nola at the same time at which they held the plains about the Po,† is perfectly consistent with this hypothesis. Their power in these regions was of short duration. Of course it could last no longer than their maritime superiority; and this they were forced to concede to the Syracusans. In Ol. 85.3 (or B. C. 438), Diodorus places the formation of the Campanian nation,‡ by which we are probably to understand the admission of the Samnites to the joint possession of the city and territory of Capua. We have already seen, that, according to Livy, the Samnites made themselves its sole masters, B. C. 421.

Mention has been made of the maritime power of the Etruscans. They were for some time masters of the lower or Tyrrhene Sea, and were dreaded and hated for their piracies.§ When, according to Herodotus,|| the Tyrseni and Carthaginians, each with a fleet of sixty ships, attacked the Phocæan settlers in Corsica, and compelled them to abandon their settlement (B. C. 540), and landed their prisoners in the territory of Agylla, and there stoned them; since the Agylleans probably were still Pelasgian Tyrsenians,¶ a question may be raised, whether we are to understand that the Etruscans (Rasenæ) were engaged in this vindication of the exclusive sovereignty of the western seas. At all events we must bear in mind, that it is likely that even in later times the Etruscan fleets were built and manned, not by the ruling race, whose Alpine origin, exclusive nobility, and limited numbers, mark them as little fitted for maritime affairs, but by the subject Tyrsenian population. The Etruscans, however, certainly had commercial treaties, and treaties of alliance with the Carthaginians,\*\* (of the nature of which we may form a notion from the stipulations of the ancient treaties between Carthage

and Rome,)\* which are a sufficient proof of their maritime importance. Anaxilaus of Rhegium established a naval station at Scyllæum, to blockade the Straits of Messina against the Etruscan corsairs (about B. C. 490).† The Etruscans were humbled by the naval defeat which they suffered from Hiero and the Syracusans before Cuma, B. C. 474. Indeed their maritime power seems to have been then effectually broken, or perhaps they began to feel that the maintenance of a fleet was little suited to the oligarchic character of their government. Their pirates continued to infest the sea; but in B. C. 453, when the Syracusans sent a fleet against them, they bribed the Syracusan admiral to depart; and when a second fleet ravaged their coasts, laid waste their settlements in Corsica, and subdued the island of Æthalia or Ilva, they were unable to offer any resistance.‡ In like manner, in B. C. 384, four years after the taking of Rome by the Gauls, when Dionysius sailed against Corsica with the professed design of chastising piracy, and plundered on the way the rich and ancient temple of Juno Lucina at Pyrgi, the only resistance that he encountered was by land.§

Beyond these imperfect marks of the relations of the Etruscans with the Carthaginians, and Italian and Sicilian Greeks, we know little of their history, except so much as is interwoven with the History of Rome. We shall therefore proceed to examine their internal constitution.

The Etruscans never formed one state, nor were ever united under one government. Their cities were connected only by a confederation. The territory of Southern Etruria is said to have been divided among twelve independent cities. A question may be raised, whether this division was instituted by the Rasenæ, or remained from the age of the Pelasgian Tyrseni. At least a similar division prevailed among the most Pelasgian of the Grecian races, the Ionians whether in the Peloponnesus or in Asia, the Æolians in Asia, and the Achæans who succeeded the Ionians in the Ægialus;|| and the Attic Trittyes seem to be a similar distribution. It may be doubted

\* Strabo, v. 4, 3. Plin. iii. 5 (9) cited above.

† Pol. ii. 17. ‡ Diod. Sic. xii. 31.

§ Strabo, v. 2, 2 and 3. || Herod. i. 166, 7.

¶ See above, p. 75. \*\* Aristot. Pol. iii. 9 (5).

\* Polyb. iii. 22—25.

† Strabo, vi. 1, 5.

‡ Diod. Sic. xi. 83.

§ Diod. Sic. xv. 14. Strabo, v. 2, 3.

|| Herod. i. 145, 149. Cf. vii. 94.

likewise, whether this division really existed in the historical times, or was not rather a tradition of the heroic age of the Etruscans. It is doubtful, because, when the Etruscans were waging wars with Rome before the capture of the city by the Gauls, there seem to have been more than twelve independent states within the limits of Etruria; and because, often as the number of the cities is mentioned, they are nowhere named all together. If we attempt to assign them by conjecture according to such evidence as we possess, we may name Veii, Tarquinii, Vulsinii, Volci, Rusellæ, Vetulonii, Clusium, Perusia, Volaterræ, Arretium, Pisæ, Fæsulæ. Veii was the earliest enemy of Rome in Etruria;\* and the magnitude and power of the city are sufficiently attested by the length and obstinacy of the wars which ended in its destruction. Tarquinii was distinguished by tradition as taking its name from the mythic Tarcon, the founder of the twelve cities.† This belief invested it with the dignity of the mother city of Etruria, to which it has evidently no claim, when the story of the Lydian settlement is rejected. Vetulonium, Arretium, Clusium, Volaterræ, and Rusellæ, are enumerated by Dionysius as beginning the great war of the Etruscans with Tarquinius Priscus;‡ and Vetulonium is never mentioned again in history. Clusium was undoubtedly one of the twelve great cities; for it was the city of Porsena. The Vulsinians were accounted the most ancient of the Etruscans;§ and Vulsinii carried on war with Rome, as an independent city, A. U. C. 363. || It is mentioned together with Perusia and Arretium as a very powerful city, and one of the chief states of Etruria in A. U. C. 459;¶ and the Triumphal Fasti record a triumph over the Vulsinienses and Vulcienes, A. U. C. 473.\*\* The Vulcienes are the people of Volci. The memorials of this ancient city are rare. The Byzantine geographer names it on the authority of Polybius.†† But we know from Pliny, that the city of Cossa, whether as a colony or by conquest, belonged to its people:‡‡ and the importance of Cossa is indicated at this day by the

remains of its gigantic walls. These walls attest likewise the high antiquity of the city; for they are constructed of huge unhewn masses of stone, like the Cyclopien walls of Argos and Tiryns. The people of Volci survived, though their city decayed; and are enumerated by Pliny as the Volcentini Etrusci.\* Perusia is mentioned by Livy, with Arretium and Cortona, as one of the chief states of Etruria, A. U. C. 444.† The celebrity of Pisæ, and its importance as a frontier town and bulwark against the Ligurians, and the tradition that it was one of the settlements of Tarcon, entitle it to a place among the twelve cities.‡ The size of the ruins of Fæsulæ seems to make out its claim to the same rank.§ The distance of this city from Rome, and the circumstance that those books of Livy, which contained the account of the final subjugation of Etruria, are lost to us, sufficiently explain the fact, that its name does not occur in history as an independent state.

When the surviving cities of Etruria had become dependent allies of Rome, in the second Punic war (A. U. C. 548), Cære, Populonia, Tarquinii, Volaterræ, Arretium, Perusia, Clusium, and Rusellæ, are enumerated as separate states, which contributed to the outfit of Scipio's fleet.|| Thus, besides the twelve cities, which we have assigned by conjecture as the twelve heads of the nation, we have already found mention of three independent states, Cortona, Cære, and Populonia; and to these two more may be added, Capena and Falerii. It is possible, and not improbable, that the number of twelve cities was maintained in the confederacy; and that when one of the old members decayed, or was lost by foreign conquest, a new member was admitted to supply its place:¶ and thus these five cities may have been accounted at some time in the number of the twelve. But that they were not among the original twelve is likely from certain circumstances which we know of their history. Thus Cortona is expressly named in A. U. C. 444, B. C. 309, as one of the three chief states of Etruria; but about 120 years before its inhabitants were distinguished from the Etruscans as a remnant of the old

\* See pp. 10, 15. † Strabo, See above, p. .

‡ Dion. iii, 57. See p. 18. § Zonaras.

¶ Liv. v. 31.

¶ Liv. x. 37.

\*\* Cluv. Ital. Antiq. I. II. c. 3, p. 515.

†† Steph. Byz. v. Ὀλκίον. See Cramer, vol. i. p. 223.

‡‡ Cossa Volcentium, N. H. iii. 8.

\* Plin. iii. 8.

† Liv. ix. 37.

‡ Strabo, v. 2, 5. Serv. on Æn. x. 179.

§ Nieb.

¶ Liv. xxviii. 45.

¶ Nieb. p. 97, ed. 2; p. 116, ed. 3.



Pelasgians.\* Cære also fell late under the dominion of the Etruscans:† and its political insignificance, the constant peace which it preserved with Rome,‡ and the relation of mutual citizenship which existed between the Cærtes and the Romans, seem to indicate that it was not one of the ruling cities of Etruria. Its situation, and the circumstance that it was at last led into war with Rome by espousing the cause of Tarquinius,§ suggest the conjecture that it was a colony from the latter city. The Falisci, the people of Falerii, not only allied themselves with the Veientes and Tarquinienses, and other states of Etruria, against Rome; but considered themselves entitled to claim the protection of the common council of the nation.|| But we must remember the statement reported by the Strabo, as if upon credible authority, that they were of a different race from the Etruscans. This assertion probably referred to the preservation and predominance of the old Pelasgian population.¶ The Capenates were an Etruscan people who waged war with Rome. They took up arms to assist Veii, and submitted as soon as Veii had fallen:\*\* and there is reason to believe that they were a colony from Veii.†† In like manner Populonia was a colony of Volaterræ.‡‡ If Populonia was ever reckoned in the number of the twelve cities, it was perhaps received in the place of Vetulonium, from the site of which it was not far distant.§§ A people called the Salpinates joined the Volsinienses in the war with Rome, A. U. C. 363.|||| It is most likely that they were an Etruscan community; but they may have been Umbrians.

Twelve great cities were said to be established likewise in the Northern Etruria; ¶¶ but of the greater number of them the very names are lost to us.

Felsina, Hatria, Mantua, and Melpum, were probably among them; and perhaps Verona. The number twelve was so recognised as the basis of the political divisions of the Etruscans, that Strabo, when he spoke of their dominion in Campania, related that they founded twelve cities there also:\* but for this assertion there is no other evidence; and we have already seen how much historical probability is against it.

Friendly relations subsisted among the cities of Etruria, such as were natural among people of the same race. We find no mention of any intestine war;† but the bonds of their national confederacy were not closely drawn. Whether the northern and southern Etruria formed two separate states, or were even united in one body, we have no information. The alliances among the southern cities, of which we read in the Roman annals, were such as were produced by the exigencies of the time, and seldom comprehended more than two or three states. A great council of the chiefs of the nation met at the Temple of Voltumna; and the Romans were often alarmed with rumours, that the twelve cities had decreed to make war against them with the whole force of their league: but such an union was never actually formed.‡ At length after Veii and Capena had fallen, and the Romans had established themselves in Etruria in the strong holds of Sutrium and Nepete, we find a vague mention of a tumultuary incursion or foray of "the whole Etruscan name:"§ and, somewhat later, we meet with the more precise statement, that all the states of Etruria, except the Arretines, took up arms against Rome.|| But it is clear, that the national confederacy never made a combined and sustained effort against their watchful and unwearied enemy. This disunion seems to have resulted both from internal causes, and from the pressure of the Gauls upon the northern frontier. A tradition however prevailed, in itself highly probable, that in old times the twelve cities were united in a solemn and permanent league; and that when they undertook a war in common, a military chief of the whole nation was elected, to whom each of the

\* See p. 74. † See p. 75.

‡ Notwithstanding the proximity of the cities, no war is recorded between Cære and Rome, after the apocryphal Etruscan conquests of Servius Tullus (Dion. iv. 27.) till the Cærtes joined the Tarquinienses in an incursion on the Roman lands, A. U. C. 403; and even then their submission and apology was accepted (Liv. vii. 19—20.)

§ "Misericordiâ consanguinitatis," Liv. vii. 19.

¶ Liv. iv. 23.

¶¶ See above, p. 75. \*\* Liv. v. 8, 24.

†† Cato in Serv. on Æn. vii. 697. See Nieb. note 330, p. 97, ed. 2. n. 371, p. 118, ed. 3.

‡‡ Serv. on Æn. x. 172.

§§ Nieb. || Liv. v. 31.

¶¶ Liv. v. 33. Serv. on Æn. x. 201, intimates a doubt whether the division into twelve cities were applicable to the Northern Etruria.

\* Strabo, v. 4. 3.

† Nieb. p. 103, ed. 2, p. 124, ed. 3.

‡ See Livy, iv. 23, 24, 25, 61. v. 17, vi. 2, 3.

§ Liv. viii. 17. A. U. C. 399.

|| Liv. ix, 32, A. U. C. 443.

twelve cities gave a lictor, or public officer, to bear before him the rods and axe which were the symbols of military command. Hence the Romans borrowed the twelve lictors, who attended on the kings and consuls.\* It was this military sovereignty, which was reported to have been conferred on Tarquinius by the gift of the embroidered robe and ivory throne, and sceptre and diadem.† In this, as in many similar cases, a religious institution survived, after the corresponding military and civil office had been suppressed or disused. So late as in the great Veientine war (a little before A.U.C. 352, B.C. 401) we find that, at a solemn meeting of the nation, a high priest was elected by the twelve states.‡

It is distinctly asserted by Dionysius, that the common chief of the nation was always one of the twelve kings of the separate cities.§ Livy, though he entitles the common chief king, has avoided this statement; probably from finding that the Etruscan cities were not generally under kingly government, when they came to be mentioned in the Roman annals. But the tradition that the several states were originally governed by kings, is not only most probable in itself, but is verified in specific instances. Por-sena is king of Clusium; Tolumnius is king of Veii, A.U.C. 317 (B.C. 436); || Horace addresses Mæcenas, the descendant of the Cilnii of Arretium, as the offspring of Etruscan kings. The title of an Etruscan king seems to have been Lars; and it is probable that the office was elective, like that of the kings of Rome. In the later ages of the Etruscan nation it is evident that the government of the states was in the hands of the nobles. It appears by the mention of Lars Tolumnius, that the kingly estate lasted longest at Veii; and so jealous was the ambition of the Etruscan oligarchy, that the other cities refused aid to the Veientes in their final struggle with Rome, because, after a period of turbulence, they had recurred to their ancient form of government (A.U.C. 352, B.C. 401).¶ The abolition of monarchy in the several states tended, beyond doubt, to relax the bonds of

union in the whole confederacy. The nobles, who would not submit to a single leader in their own city, would be still less likely to invest any one of their number with kingly authority over the whole nation.

The Etruscan cities passed, as Rome and the states of Greece, from the monarchy of their heroic age (which was probably as limited as the monarchy of the Homeric chiefs) under the dominion of an oligarchy or exclusive aristocracy. The meetings at the Temple of Voltumna were meetings, not of representatives chosen from the body of the people, but only of the chiefs of the ruling houses.\* The appellation of the Etruscan nobles was Lucumo.† They were also the priestly order of the nation. According to their tradition, to their ancestors were intrusted the revelations of Tages, a wise dwarf who rose from the earth in the fields of Tarquinii, to instruct the favoured nation, the chosen land of the gods;‡ in the mysteries of religious worship, and all the arts of divination.§

The Etruscan states never accomplished the next step in the natural course of political changes, by which an hereditary and exclusive aristocracy is compelled to concede its privileges, and the people admitted to a share in the common government. In the last age of the independence of the nation we find that a struggle had begun at Arretium between the ruling house of the Cilnii and the commonalty, which Livy dignifies with the name of *Plebs*.|| The only allusion which is found to a popular assembly in any state of Etruria relates to Tarquinii. The weight of this allusion rests entirely upon the exactness of the information and the accuracy of the language of Dionysius;¶ but Tarquinii, on account of its commerce, was the most likely place for an independent commonalty to gain wealth and power.

The bulk of the population of Etruria stood to the nobles in a relation which resembled that of serfs or villains to their lords in the feudal kingdoms of modern Europe. Dionysius calls these dependents *Penestæ*;\*\* the name which was properly applied to the serfs of the

\* Liv. i. 8.

† See p. 18, Dion. iii. 61.

‡ Liv. v. 1.

§ "Twelve Ethelings governed over the land of the Saxons; and when war arose, the Saxons chose one of the twelve to be king while the war lasted; when it was over, the twelve became alike."—Turner's Anglo-Saxons, Append. to B. ii.

|| Liv. iv. 17.

¶ Liv. v. 1.

\* "Principes Etruriæ," Liv. vi. 2, x. 16.

† See Dion. ii. 37. Liv. i. 34, v. 33. See p. 10.

‡ Nieb. p. 95, n. 322, ed. 2. p. 115, n. 363, ed. 3.

¶ Censorin. c. 4, Ov. Metam. xv. 553-559. Cic. Div. ii. 23.

|| Liv. x. 3, 5, A.U.C. 452, B.C. 301.

¶ See Dion. v. 3, and Nieb. note 334, p. 99, ed. 2, p. 119, n. 374, ed. 3.

\*\* Dion. ix. 5.



Thessalians, whose condition was more degraded than that of any class of men in Greece, who were not absolutely slaves, except the Laconian Helots.\* The relation of this subject population to their lords seems to have been the same in principle as that of the Clients to their Patrons at Rome. But this latter relation was modified by the growth of an intermediate class, the Plebeians, an unprivileged but independent commonalty, whose struggle for an equality of legal rights made it necessary for the Patricians to cultivate the good will of their Clients; but we do not find that any such favourable cause operated in Etruria. It is probable, however, that the necessities of war tended to raise the importance and to better the condition of the subject population. A story has been handed down to us, unfortunately not as it would probably have been reported by a discerning historian, but in the guise best suited to the taste of professed story tellers. It is said that the citizens of Vulsinii, intent only upon luxury and pleasure, admitted their liberated slaves into the senate, and suffered the civil government and the military command to fall entirely into their hands. Frightful excesses followed the unnatural elevation of the abject class. The Vulsinians repented, when they had no longer the power to undo their work; and were forced to call in the assistance of the Romans to disarm and put down their servile tyrants.† This story, as it stands, is absolutely incredible: but we learn from more trustworthy authorities, that the Vulsinians were so far from being dissolved in sloth and pleasure, that shortly before the period in question, they had maintained an obstinate resistance to the Romans (in the war which was terminated by the triumph already mentioned, A.U.C. 473): and the admission of their slaves to civil and military power is related without the circumstances of exaggeration which appear in the accounts before cited. The expedition of the Romans to their aid appears to have taken place soon after the conclusion of the peace, in the consulship of Q. Fabius Gurgus, A.U.C. 477 or 488‡. We may conjecture, therefore, that the Vulsinians were induced by the exigencies of war to admit a portion,

not of their household slaves, but of their villans or serfs, the farmers and tillers of the soil, the remains of the ancient population, to the privileges of the ruling class; and that when the pressure of necessity was less urgent, their selfish and jealous oligarchy regretted the concession, and were willing to recover the power of oppression even at the risk of their national independence.\*

The great works of the Etrurian cities could scarcely be built without the command of labour, at the disposal not only of individuals, but of the State, which was held to be composed of the aggregate of the nobles. This degradation of a part of the population into a state of servitude and subjection to a ruling class, has generally been the result of foreign conquest. This was the cause of the subjection both of the Helots and Periœci in Lacedæmon, of the Gymnesii in Argolis, the Penestæ in Thessaly, the Pelasgi in Southern Italy.† It is probable that the Thetes in Attica were the remains of the older indigenous Pelasgian population reduced by the Ionian conquerors or settlers. We may conclude, without risk of error, that a similar cause operated in Etruria; and that the Etruscan Penestæ or clients or

\* Nieb. pp. 101, 102, ed. 2. pp. 121-123, ed. 3. An event exactly similar appears to have happened at Argos, and to have been disguised by a similar misrepresentation. When six thousand of the Argive citizens had been cut off by the Spartans under Cleomenes, a portion of the subject population obtained the rights of citizenship. Herodotus calls these new citizens slaves, and says that they assumed by force the direction of the state; but that when a new generation of the citizens grew up, they vindicated their former exclusive privileges, and expelled the slaves: that the slaves took possession of Tiryns, and, after a period, first of amity, then of war, were finally overpowered by the Argives (Herod. vi. 83). This account is inconsistent with another passage, in which he describes the diminished body of the Argive citizens as still retaining the sovereignty of their city, though too weak to take a part in the Persian war (vii. 148, 149). Aristotle relates, that the Argives were compelled to receive into their state some of the Periœci (inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, remains of the old Achæan population: Polit. v. 2). Plutarch gives the same account; and distinctly asserts that Herodotus was mistaken in speaking of slaves (δούλοι), for that the new citizens were free Periœci (Plut. de Virt. Mul. vol. vii., p. 11, ed. Reiske). Müller adheres to the account of Herodotus, and believes that the city fell for a time into the power of the Gymnesii, the serfs or Helots of Argos, the servile peasantry of the country; but that afterwards the Argives expelled these, and, in order to restore the numbers of their free population, transplanted to Argos the inhabitants of the neighbouring dependent towns (see Pausan. viii. 27. 1), to whom alone he allows the name of Periœci. (Dorians, B. i. ch. 8, § 7; B. iii. ch. 4, § 2). Even according to this interpretation there is a near resemblance between the changes at Argos and at Vulsinii.

\* Dion. ii. 9. See Müller's Dorians, b. iii., c. 4, § 6.

† Val. Max. ix. 1. Orosius iv. 5.

‡ Flor. i. 21, Zonaras viii.

† See p. 80.

serfs were the descendants of the Pelasgian Tyrsenians overpowered by the Rasenæ of the North.\*

If the builders of the walls of Volaterræ and other Etrurian cities were the subjugated Pelasgians, there is a singular coincidence between the fortune of the Italian branch of that great nation, and the tribe which purchased by task-work a settlement in Attica.† But it may be that these massy structures (at least the more ancient, such as the walls of Cossa) were the work of the Pelasgians in their earlier days, when they existed as a great and independent nation. Ruins of buildings on the same gigantic scale are found in other countries which were inhabited by the Pelasgians, in Latium, in Ænotria, in Greece. It can scarcely be doubted that they were the architects of the Larissa of Argos and of the citadels of Mycenæ and Tiryns.‡ In this style of building they would be the teachers as well as the labourers of their Etruscan lords.

But the finer works of what is called Etruscan art furnish a more decisive proof of the presence of a Pelasgian population in Etruria, and of the mode in which they contributed to the civilization and intellectual refinement of their more warlike masters. If we may conjecture that the Pelasgians in Greece communicated the arts of civilization to the Hellenes,§ there is still greater reason to conclude that the Tyrsenians in Italy were the instructors of the Rasenæ. In the works of sculpture, and the figured and painted vases, which are found in Etruria, the subjects are very frequently taken from the heroic legends of Greece, from the tales of Thebes and Troy; tales which could become thus popular only where an element in some measure Grecian existed in the population. It is true that the study and imitation of Grecian art may have been introduced among the Etruscans in the period of their inglorious ease, between the time of their submission to the Romans and their spoliation by Sylla and his military colonies; and there are many works which seem to be of this date, and which cannot be considered as

original. But there is reason to conjecture, that some of the most striking of the monuments of Etrurian art are of an older period; and their resemblance to Grecian works is such as indicates rather a common origin than express imitation.\* At the same time we must bear in mind, that there are Etrurian works of manifest antiquity, of which both the subjects and the style seem to be exclusively Etruscan.† The subjects are taken from Etruscan mythology; and the figures and faces have rather the character of portraits than of ideal forms. If then it be too much to suppose that the execution of such works was first suggested to the Etruscans by their Pelasgian subjects, it may still be conjectured that the refinement of the art is due to the more delicate taste and the ancient cultivation of the conquered people.

Whatever may be thought of the origin of the fine arts in Etruria, it is scarcely questionable that the Etruscans received from the Pelasgians the most precious gift of civilization, alphabetical writing. The Etruscan language is still utterly unknown, but the characters in which it is written are read with little difficulty, and differ but little from those of the oldest inscriptions which have been discovered in Greece.‡ They are written from right to left, as the oldest Greeks wrote. Doubled consonants are marked by a single letter, as in the most ancient Greek inscriptions; but the omission of the short vowels is a mark that the Etruscan alphabet had departed less from its eastern prototype than the Grecian. It is singular that it wants the vowel *o*. Many speculators in Etruscan antiquities from the similarity of the alphabet to the ancient Greek characters have inferred a corresponding similarity in the language, not perceiving that there was no necessary connexion between the two subjects. To the Oscan nations likewise the Pelasgians communicated an alphabet; to the Latins they gave not only an alphabet, but a most important element in their language. That the Etruscan language was different from the Pelasgian is indicated by this circumstance. The most ancient Greeks denoted the

\* See Müller's Dorians, b. iii. cc. 2, 3, 4.

† It has been suggested, that the superstition which pronounced it better that no building should be raised adjacent to the Pelasgic wall at Athens (see Thucyd. ii. 17, Πηλεργικὸν ἔργον ἄμεινον), was the same which in Italian cities hallowed the Pomærium.

‡ See Sir W. Gell's *Morea*.

§ See p. 70.

\* e.g. the Polyphemus with two eyes hurling stones at the ship of Ulysses; in Micali.

† See p. 76.

‡ The characters are known by means of the names which are frequently attached to the figures in the works of art.



leading numbers above four (five, ten, a hundred, a thousand) by the initial letters of their names, and on this base erected a rude kind of arithmetical notation. The Etruscans did not adopt these symbols, but used peculiar numerals. What we call the Roman numerals are in fact Etruscan, and occur frequently on their monuments.\*

The Etruscans do not appear ever to have formed a literature. The intellect of the nation was kept down by the circumstance that all learning was in the hands of priests, who were not only an exclusive religious order, but a privileged caste of political rulers, and who made their superiority in knowledge, or rather the ignorance of the people, an instrument for upholding their religious and political supremacy. Their chief objects of study were the ceremonies of worship, and the interpretation of portents, especially those which were given by lightning.† Religious ceremonies were artfully attached to every civil action, and in all cases the will of the gods was to be consulted. Thus the Ritual Books contained directions for the dividing of lands, the founding and building of cities, the consecrating of holy places, the political distribution of a people, and for making war and peace.‡ The history of the nation was accommodated to an outline, educed by superstition from astronomy, by which ten *sæcula*, or ages, were assigned for the duration of the Etruscan state.§ All this religious learning, as well as the mysteries of augury and aruspey the Romans sought from the Etruscans; and Roman youths of the highest rank were sent to receive their education from the priestly nobles of Etruria.|| The Romans in the first ages of the republic studied the learning and superstitions of Etruria, which they afterwards renounced with contempt for the literature and irreligious philosophy of Greece. From the Etruscans the Romans derived likewise their most solemn religious games and spectacles, ¶ and their earliest scenic representations.\*\* These at first consisted only of a species of dancing; and it is remarkable, that they were introduced at Rome as a mode of religious expiation,

to procure the removal of a pestilence. The peculiar instrument of Etruscan music was the flute. The trumpet also the Greeks considered as an invention of the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans.

There were some peculiarities in the religious doctrines of the Etruscans, besides their divination and ceremonial worship, which are worthy of notice. They believed that the universe was the growth of six thousand years, and that six thousand years would elapse before its final destruction\*. Eight days made the Etruscan week; and they conceived that the duration of the world was divided into eight periods, the beginning and end of which were marked by wonderful signs in earth or heaven. To each of these great days a different race of men was assigned. At each change the dispensations of the gods to men changed also. One race was blessed with their especial favour, and enabled to divine by manifest portents and unerring rules: from another race the knowledge of the future would be withheld†. The Etruscans, doubtless, conceived themselves to be the most favoured people of the favoured day. As ten *sæcula* were appointed for the life of their nation, so we may conclude that ten *sæcula* were given to each of the eight great days. The Etruscan soothsayers announced the approaching end of one of these periods in the consulship of Sylla (A.U.C. 666. B.C. 87.) This of course was the period of their own nation; and hence we are enabled to conjecture the degree of antiquity which they assigned to themselves. In one point their theology bore a resemblance to that of the Scandinavian nations, for they believed that the gods themselves would perish in the final destruction of the universe‡. One object of their religious faith is presented in a striking manner in their works of art. They believed that each man was attended by a good and an evil genius; and that after his death one of these took possession of his soul, and conducted him on horseback to the abode of the dead.§

The Etruscans, inhabiting a rich country, with a subject population engaged in commerce, lived in ease and plenty, which must have formed a strong contrast with the original habits of their

\* Nieb. p. 112, ed. 2. p. 134, ed. 3.

† Diod. Sic. v. 40.

‡ Festus, v. *Rituales Libri*.

§ See p. 58, note.

|| Cic. De Div. i. 41, De Legg. ii. 9. Liv. ix, 36. Val. Max. i. 1. 2.

¶ Ludi Circenses. Liv. i. 35. See p. 19.

\*\* Liv. vii. 2.

\* Suidas, v. *Tuppnia*.

† Plut. Syll. c. 7.

‡ Varro in Arnob. and Pl. Latat. on Statius; cited by Micali, ii. p. 46.

§ Serv. on *Æn.* vi. 743. Micali's Plates, 26 & 52.

nation, when it first issued from the Rætian Alps. Their taste for magnificence and luxury seems to have grown, while they lived in ignominious indolence under the dominion of Rome. Their plentiful feasts provoked the unfriendly observation of the spare-feeding Greeks.\* From the representations in their works of art we can discover that their women graced their banquets with their presence, and took a part in society, and enjoyed a freedom and a respect, more analogous to the consideration in which the ladies of the land were held among the Homeric heroes or the aristocratic Dorians, than to the intellectual condition to which the household drudges in the democratic states of Greece were degraded. The liberty thus enjoyed by the female sex, which at Athens was allowed to none but professed courtesans, was doubtless the foundation of the scandalous and grossly exaggerated statements of Etruscan licentiousness, which Athenæus has copied from Theopompus.† It is probable, that in old times the character of the wife of the Etruscan Lucumo was as pure and honourable as that of the Roman matron. Corruption of private morals may have attended national degeneracy; but the picture drawn by Theopompus was never equalled in Roman manners, except in the courts of the most abandoned of the Emperors.‡

(Appendix to § 5 & § 6.) The theory which has been presented of the origin, early history, and mutual relations of the Pelasgians and Etruscans, is almost entirely that of Niebuhr. The historian Müller, in his work on the Etruscans, has laid down an hypothesis altogether different, and has adhered much more closely to the vulgar opinions of antiquity. That the reader may be fully aware how little certainty can be attained in these researches, and what different views of the same subject may be taken by men of profound learning, we shall subjoin a summary of Müller's theory. He conceives that the Pelasgians, who were compelled to migrate from Attica, and to betake themselves to a piratical life, settled for a time on the coast of Lydia, near the city of Tyrrha (the city of Gyges, Etym. M. γύρανος, where read *Λυδιακῆς* for *Λυκίακῆς*). Hence they

acquired the name of Tyrrheni, which they afterwards communicated to other tribes of their race. The original natives of the inland country were called Torrhebi from the same city (see Note, p. 72, col. 1.). The Ionian migration dislodged the Pelasgians, while the indigenous Torrhebi remained in the country. The outcasts formed sundry little settlements on the coasts of the Ægean; among the rest, one on the peninsula of Athos. To these Tyrseni of Athos he believes Herodotus to allude in the litigated passage, i. 57 (see Note, p. 74, col. 2): but that, in consequence of the corruption which their dialect had suffered from their residence in Lydia, he appealed for an example of the pure Pelasgic language to a city Creston, which Müller conceives to have existed in the country called Crestonice, traversed by the march of Xerxes, south of the Crestonæan Thracians (Herod. vii. 124.). Thus he rejects altogether the reading and interpretation of Dionysius; and believes that when Hellanicus spoke of the occupation of Croton or Cortona by the Pelasgians, he confounded them with the indigenous Etruscans, who made Cortona their strong hold. To return to the Tyrsenians: he supposes the main body of them to have turned their course southward, and to have maintained themselves for a time on the coasts of Laconia. (The stories which speak of the Tyrrhenians on this coast Niebuhr conceives to have arisen from a confusion of the earlier tradition, which represented the Minyæ, expelled by the Tyrsenians from Lemnos, as taking refuge in Laconia.) They then turned westward, and established themselves on the southern coasts of Etruria, in the neighbourhood of Cære and Tarquinii. Here they found the Tuscans already settled; and having gained an independent footing, and for a time even a supremacy, among them, communicated to them many arts of peace and war. The Tuscan hero, Tarchun, is nothing more than Tyrrhenus contracted and aspirated according to the fashion of the Tuscan. Through these Pelasgians the Tuscans derived the Lydian and Phrygian flute, and the trumpet, which were both under the especial patronage of the Etruscan goddess, Menerfa, as well as of the Grecian Athene, with whom she was identified. The Tyrrhenians and Tuscans received alphabetical writing by

\* Diod. Sic. v. 40.

† Athen. xii. p. 517.

‡ Nieb. p. 117, ed. 2. p. 139, ed. 3.



means of their commercial intercourse with Greece; as is signified in the story of Demaratus (see p. 35, col. 2). Besides these Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, several nations had been settled in Italy long before their arrival, which, though they were not known among one another by the name of Pelasgians, were yet so closely allied to the Pelasgians of Greece in language and character, that the Greeks, when they became acquainted with them, described them by the same name. The question then arose, from which of the earlier seats of the Pelasgians they had come; and they were generally traced to Thessaly. This hypothesis was even extended to the Tyrrhenians, though the tradition of their Lydian origin was not lost. Moreover, Hellanicus applied to the Tyrrhenians a native legend of the Italian Etruscans, which described their hero, Nanas or, Nanus, as issuing from the fastness of Cortona, and subduing the whole of Etruria. (Compare Hellanicus in Dion. i. 28, with Lycophron, v. 1244, &c.)

In Campania, the name Tyrrheni and Tyrrhenian may everywhere be applied to the Etruscans. Cato allows too short a time for the growth of Vulturnum. They probably sent their first colonies to this coast by sea; and these were afterwards reinforced by new detachments from the parent state, which came by land, and though vastly exaggerated in the Cuman legend, placed that city in great danger.

§ 7. The Sabines inhabited a narrow tract of mountainous country, which abutted on the Tiber between the rivers Nar and Anio, and stretched more than a hundred miles in a north-east direction, till it was bounded by the main ridge of the Apennines, at the distance of about thirty-two miles from the Adriatic Sea.\* They were a very ancient race; and Strabo accounted them indigenous. According to Zenodotus the Trœzenian, † they were originally a branch of the Umbrian nation, and dwelt about the district of Reate; but being driven thence by the Pelasgians, they came into the land which they inhabited in after times, and were there called Sabines. This account not only appears probable from the neighbourhood of the Sabines and Umbrians, but is confirmed by the mention of

words common to the Sabine and Umbrian languages.\* Cato said nothing of their descent, but reported that they took their name from an indigenous deity, Sabus, the son of Saneus; † that the first seat of their tribe was a village named Testrina, near the city Amiternum, among the highest Apennines; that thence they directed their attacks against the territory of Reate, which was then shared by the Aborigines (Pelasgians); ‡ and took their chief city Cotynæ or Cutiliæ; and so gradually extended themselves, and founded Cures and other towns. § The account of Varro is very similar: that the Sabines from Amiternum attacked the Aborigines, and took their mother city Lista; that the Aborigines took refuge with the people of Reate; and after carrying on a war in vain for the recovery of their ancient country, dedicated it to the gods, and pronounced all who should reap its fruit accursed. || The legend of Varro, by which the mythic founder of Cures was derived from the Aborigines of Reate, has been told before. ¶ In comparing these accounts of Cato and Varro it is necessary to bear in mind, that Cato applied the name Aborigines to the Pelasgian race, while Varro seems to apply it to a native Italian race, mountaineers of the Apennines, whom we may safely consider as Opicans.\*\*

If it be allowable to form a theory from these obscure indications, we may conjecture that the Sabines were Umbrians, who anciently bordered upon the Opicans; that they were separated from the main body of their nation, and driven into the mountains by the conquests of the Pelasgians; that, after a time, they became assailants in their turn, and descended from their fastnesses, and attacked both the Pelasgians and Opicans, and the communities which had been formed by the union of these two races.

In fact, from the union of these two races sprung the Latins; †† and accordingly, as soon as the Sabines are mentioned in history, we find them pressing upon the Latins, and extending themselves down the left bank of the Tiber towards the sea. At the time of the foundation of Rome, and even in the

\* e. g. *dirus*, Serv. on *Æn.* iii. 235.

† See *Sil. Ital.* viii. 422. ‡ See p. 74.

§ Dion. ii. 49. || Dion. i. 14.

¶ See p. 35; and Dion. ii. 48.

\*\* See next section, § 8.

†† See § 10.

\* Strabo, v. 3, 1; Dion. ii. 49.

† In Dion. *ib.*

reign of the elder Tarquin, we read of Latin cities north of the Anio, Cænina, Fidene, Crustumium, Nomentum, Ficulea, Corniculum.\* But in the time of Tarquin we find also a Sabine settlement south of the Anio, at Collatia;† and in the first years of the republic another at Regillum;‡ and we know likewise, that at a very early period the Sabines established themselves on two of the hills, which were afterwards included in the circuit of Rome. The popular legend makes this settlement the consequence of the war of Tatius with Romulus.§ Wars with the Sabines form a great part of the early history of Rome;|| that is, they were a main field for the heroic ballads and legends of the early Romans. It is manifestly the imagination of the poets which bedecked the army of Tatius with golden bracelets;¶ and which drew such pictures of the wealth of the whole nation, that Fabius affirmed that the Romans first knew what wealth was when they became masters of this people:\*\* for, according to all historical tradition, the Sabines were famed for hardihood and spare living. The Roman wars of the Sabines cease after the year of the city 306. The energies of the nation had found another vent.††

The Sabines were remarkable for being the parent stock of many colonies, which established themselves as independent nations. It was a custom of the old Italian tribes, as a mode either of thanksgiving or of deprecation, to devote to some god all the increase of a year. Such a season was called a "Sacred Spring." All the young of their flocks and herds were sacrificed or redeemed; all the children then born to them, when they were grown up to manhood, were sent forth from their home, never to return, but to seek for themselves a new country; and it was commonly believed that the god to whom they were consecrated, guided them to their destined seat.‡‡ Such, according to tradition, was the origin of many of the Sabine colonies.

It is probable that the earliest settlements of the Sabines were the four cantons of the Vestini, the Marrucini, the Peligni, and the Marsi, of which the

three former were on the eastern side of the Apennines, the Marsi on their very ridge, and on their western slope, about the lake Fucinus. The Sabine origin of the Peligni is distinctly asserted by Ovid, himself a Pelignian.\* There is proof of a similar affinity of the Marsi,† and of the connexion of the Marsi with the Marrucini.‡ That the Vestini were of kindred race is indicated by their being commonly named together with the other three tribes, and by their being leagued with them in a defensive federation.§ Strabo names the Vestini, Marsi, Peligni, and Marrucini, in conjunction with the Frentani, a kindred tribe, a branch of the Samnites, lying more to the west on the coast of the Adriatic Sea.|| Niebuhr has shown with great ingenuity and probability, that four was the number which regulated the division of the nations of Sabine origin.¶ Accordingly we find the four cantons of the Vestini, Marsi, Peligni, and Marrucini united in one league A.U.C. 430.\*\* But it seems as if the Vestini had separated themselves from the confederacy, and the Frentani had been admitted to supply their place; for in A.U.C. 449, the Marrucini, Marsi, Peligni, and Frentani, sent ambassadors to Rome, and made peace in common;†† but the Vestini maintained their hostility for two years more, and made a treaty singly in A.U.C. 451.‡‡ In enumerating the forces of the allies of Rome in the second Punic war, Polybius states in one sum, those of the Marsi, Marrucini, Frentani, and Vestini.

To the north of the above mentioned district, on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, lay Picenum, a narrow strip of country about ninety miles in length, between the rivers Matrinus and Æsis. The Picentes were a Sabine colony, sent out in consequence of a vow of a sacred spring, and said to have been guided to this land by a woodpecker (*picus*), a bird sacred to Mars.§§ In this region they had to contend with the Umbrians, who had wrested it from Liburni and Siculi.||||

\* Fast. iii. 95.

† Nieb. pp. 79, 80, ed. 2. pp. 98, 99, ed. 3.

‡ Cato in Nieb. ib.

§ Liv. viii. 29. Einnius in Nieb.

|| Strabo, v. 4, 2.

¶ Nieb. vol. ii. pp. 84, 85. translation of Messrs. Hare and Thirlwall.

\*\* Liv. viii. 29.

†† Liv. ix. 45.

‡‡ Liv. x. 3.

§§ Strabo, v. 4, 1. Plin. N. H. iii. 13, (19).

|||| See p. 68.

\* Dion. ii. 53, iii. 50; Liv. i. 38. † Liv. ib.

‡ Liv. ii. 16; see Nieb. p. 551, note 1239, ed. 3.

§ See p. 10. || See pp. 15, 18, &c.

¶ See p. 9. \*\* Strabo, v. 3, 1.

†† Nieb. p. 82, ed. 2; p. 101, ed. 3.

‡‡ Dion. i. 16; Liv. xxii. 9, xxxiii. 44; Festus, vv. *Ver sacrum* and *Mamertini*.



The Hernici, who inhabited the mountainous district between the upper part of the course of the Liris, and its branch stream the Trerus, are said to have been a Sabine or Marsian colony; and their name is derived from a Sabine and Marsic word, *hernæ*, rocks.\* By Hyginus they were said to be Pelasgians.† It is probable that their territory was occupied in an early age by Pelasgians, and that the Marsians wrested it from them. The Hernici were anciently leagued on equal terms with the Romans and Latins, a confederacy of which the manifest object was mutual defence against the Volsci and Æqui.‡ The league was formed by the consul Spurius Cassius, A.U.C. 268 (B.C. 485).§ The Roman Annals, however, affirmed that a similar relation subsisted under the last king; and that the Hernici took a part in the Latin holidays, the solemn festival of Jupiter Latiaris, which was held upon the Alban Mount.|| Of the forty-seven cities which partook of these sacred rites, if Rome be esteemed one, and the thirty Latin towns be reckoned, sixteen will remain for the Hernici, which allotment agrees with the quadripartite division of the Sabine nations which has been mentioned above.¶ The chief city of the Hernici was Anagnia; and the tradition that Oppius of Tusculum, and Cispus of Anagnia, encamped upon the two summits of the Esquiline, which thenceforward bore their names, to cover Rome, while Tullus Hostilius was besieging Veii, may be considered as intimating a belief, that the threefold league of the Romans, Latins and Hernici existed even in that early age.\*\*

But the greatest people who derived their origin from the Sabines, were the Samnites. The main body of the nation dwelt on the south-east of the Marsi, and held the high country of the Apennines from the sources of the river Sagrus to the point where the chain of mountains divides itself into the two ranges which run out into the two peninsulas of Southern Italy. The tradition of their origin was, that the Sabines, being engaged for a long time in war with the Umbrians, vowed the produce

of a year, according to the custom which has been already noticed. They were victorious; and, as they thought, fulfilled their vow by sacrificing the increase of their flocks, and consecrating the fruits of the earth. But a plague of barrenness followed, and they were told that they were bound to devote their children also. So they consecrated them to Mars; and when they were grown up to manhood, sent them forth as a colony. A bull was the guide divinely appointed for them; and he lay not down to rest, till he had led them into the land of the Opici. This people dwelt in villages; and the Sabine youth cast them out, and settled themselves in their place, and sacrificed the bull to Mars.\* This legend is commemorated on the coins of Samnium, which bear the figure of a recumbent bull.†

The historical part of the tradition, which names the Opici as the people overpowered and dislodged by the Samnites, is worthy of attention. In accordance with this statement we find an account, that the country about Beneventum‡ was one of the earliest seats of the Ausonians (who will be shown to be the same race as the Opicans), and that the whole country between the Apennines and the lower sea was anciently called Ausonia.§

The first settlement of the Samnites is said to have been a strong hold, called Samnium, placed in the mountains between the sources of the Sagrus and the Vulturinus.||

The Samnites, from their descent, were also named Sabelli.¶ The epithet Sabellian is coupled with Marsian by Horace and Juvenal.\*\* Niebuhr has adopted the term Sabellian as a convenient general appellation for all the nations sprung from the Sabines.

The chief body of the Samnite nation dwelt in the mountainous district, which has been described above: but one of their tribes, the Frentani, possessed the more level country on both sides of the river Sagrus, and along the coast of the Adriatic sea.†† It was with a re-

\* Serv. and Schol. Veron. on *Æn.* vii. 684.

† Macrobi. v. 18.

‡ See Nieb. vol. ii. p. 81.

§ See p. 24, and Dion. iv. 49.

¶ Nieb. vol. ii. p. 85.

\*\* Varro in Festus, v. *Septimontium*. See above, p. 15, and Nieb. vol. ii. p. 85.

\* Strabo, v. 4, 2. "Ab Sabinis orti Samnites." Varro, L. L. vi. (vii). 3.

† Micali, P. I. c. 15.

‡ A chief town of the Samnites: Liv. ix. 27.]

§ See below, § 8.

¶ Festus and Paulus, v. *Samnites*. See Cramer's Italy. vol. ii. p. 227.

¶ Strabo, l. c. Plin. iii. 12 (17). Liv. viii. 1, x. 19.

\*\* Epod. xvii. 23, 29. Sat. iii. 169.

†† Strabo, v. 4, 2.

ference to this tribe that Scylax stated, that the Samnites extended from sea to sea.\* The Frentani were divided from the Daunian Apulians on the south by the river Tifernus. On the northern side their neighbours on the coast were the Marrucini; in the inland country the Peligni. With these and the kindred Sabellian tribes we have seen that they were closely connected.

Besides the Frentani, we find distinct mention of three other tribes of the Samnites: the Caraceni,† the most northern, and therefore evidently the most ancient, portion of the nation, dwelling about the sources of the Sagrus and the old hill fortress of Samnium; and then, in succession towards the south, the Samnites Pentri,‡ and the Samnites Caudini.§ Still further to the south, about Beneventum,|| dwelt the Hirpini, a people, the offspring of the Samnites, who are sometimes considered as a Samnite tribe, sometimes as an independent nation. They were a colony, sent out in fulfilment of a vow of a sacred spring; and they are said to have taken their name from a wolf (in the Sabine and Samnite language, *hirpus*), which was the guide assigned to them by the god.¶ It is possible that the Frentani, the Caraceni, the Pentri, and the Caudini, were the four constituent tribes of the Samnite nation, according to the principle noticed by Niebuhr; and that, when the Frentani connected themselves with the Marsian confederacy, the Hirpini supplied their place. That the quadripartite division entered into the constitution of the Samnites appears from the facts, that four hundred men were the complement of a Samnite cohort, four thousand of their legion, and four legions of their army.\*\*

We have already mentioned the conquests of the Samnites in Campania. We may be sure that they had become masters of a large portion of the country, before they forced the Etruscans to share with them the city and territory of Vulturnum. Their admission was soon followed by the massacre of the old inhabitants.†† For this atrocious

enterprise the Samnites prepared themselves by rites of peculiar solemnity, in which sacrifices were performed within a secret tabernacle, and their soldiers were introduced one by one, and compelled, under fear of instant death, to swear upon the altar, and to bind themselves under a curse, that they would follow their commanders whithersoever they led, and slay any who fled in battle.\* The people which was formed by the mixture of the Sabellian conquerors with the native Oscan population and the remains of the Pelasgians (and, perhaps, of the Etruscan settlers), was known by the name of the Campanians. The first rise of this people is assigned by Diodorus to Ol. 85. 3.† This was probably the time of the beginning of the Samnite conquests in this quarter. Three years after the Etruscan Vulturnum had been thus seized, and become the capital of the Campanians, under the name of Capua, they attacked the Grecian city of Cumæ.‡ They defeated the Cumæans in a bloody battle, took the city by siege, and plundered it; enslaved the inhabitants, and seized their women.§ This conquest made them the undisputed masters of the country: but they were soon estranged from their parent stock; and within eighty years we find the Campanians seeking protection from Rome against the aggressions of the Samnites,|| and thus giving occasion for the series of wars in which the Samnites and the Romans contended for the empire of Italy.

The Samnites, who made conquests in the more southern parts of Campania, retained their national name, and are distinguished by Scylax from the Campanians. These were the Samnites on the Tyrrhene sea, as the Frentani were the Sampites on the Adriatic.¶ Strabo likewise speaks of some towns as Campanian, and some as Samnite; and he specifies Marcina on the bay of Pæstum as a city founded by the Tyrrheni or Pelasgians, but occupied by the Samnites.

But the most powerful of all the tribes

\* See Nieb. p. 74, note 255, ed. 2; p. 93, n. 293. ed 3.

† Zonaras, viii. 7, and Ptolem. in Cramer's Italy, vol. ii. p. 226.

‡ Liv. ix. 31. § Liv. xxiii. 41. ¶ Plin. iii. 11 (16).

¶ Strabo, v. 4. 12. For the word *hirpus* see also Serv. on Æn. xi. 735.

\*\* Nieb. vol. ii. pp. 83.

†† According to Liv. iv. 37, in A.U.C. 332 (B.C. 421).

\* Liv. x. 38.

† i. e. A.U.C. 315, B.C. 438; Diod. Sic. xii. 31.

‡ According to Liv. iv. 44, in A.U.C. 335 (B.C. 418). The Chronology of Diodorus places this event in Ol. 89. 4, i. e. A.U.C. 332. Diod. Sic. xii. 76.

§ Diod. and Strabo, v. 4. 4.

¶ A.U.C. 412, Liv. vii. 29, &c.

¶ See above.



which issued from Samnium directed their course still farther towards the south, and crossed the Silarus. These were the Lucanians. They first spread themselves over the inland country, which was inhabited by the Chonians and Cenotrians, and probably some remains of the Opicans or Ausonians. Thence they descended upon the Grecian cities on the coasts of the Tyrrhene sea; carried their arms over all the south of Italy; and finally established themselves in the district, which is intercepted on the west between the rivers Silarus and Laus, on the east between the Bradanus and the Crathis, that is between Metapontum and Thurii.\* It is probable that the Samnites spread themselves beyond the Silarus, nearly at the same time at which they descended into Campania. The earliest mention of the Lucanians in history is at a time when the Spartan exile Cleandridas, father of Gylippus, led the forces of Thurii against them.† Now we know that Cleandridas was in the service of Thurii at the time when the colony of Heracleia was given up to the Tarentines, Ol. 86. 4. (B.C. 433, A.U.C. 320).‡ Forty years afterwards, in Ol. 96. 4. (B.C. 393), the Italiot Greeks found it necessary to make a defensive league against the Lucanians: and so great was their dread of this barbarous enemy, that death was denounced against the generals of any city, which should fail to give help when called upon.§ In Ol. 97. 3. (B.C. 390), the Lucanians overran the territory of Thurii; and afterwards defeated the Thurians in a murderous battle near their own city Laus, against which the Greeks had rashly advanced.|| Their force in this battle was 34,000 fighting men. After this victory they extended their conquests towards the south; so that the younger Dionysius even proposed to draw a wall across the isthmus between the Scylletic and Hipponiat bays, in order that by sacrificing the Greek cities without this line, he might secure his own dominion over those within.¶ But within a short time the Lucanians pushed beyond this limit, and Scylax assigns to them the whole south-western peninsula of Italy, all the coast from the Silarus round to Thurii.

It appears that Petelia was at one time their chief city.\*

But their empire was speedily abridged. In Ol. 106. 1. (B.C. 356), the Bruttians appeared as a people.† According to the Lucanian tradition, they were shepherds, slaves of the Lucanians, who asserted their liberty. From the mixture of Greek and Oscan in their language,‡ it is evident that a population in some measure Greek, domestic slaves from the ruined Greek cities, and perhaps their Pelasgian serfs,§ was mingled with Oscan and Sabellian freebooters. Their very name was a name of reproach, and branded them as runaway slaves. However, the Bruttians took their place among nations, and wrested from the Lucanians the country south of the Laus and the Crathis.|| The Lucanians compensated this loss by encroaching on the territory of Tarentum, moving eastward along the coast of the Tarentine gulf, till their empire was extended from Thurii to Metapontum.

Of the political institutions of the Lucanians we know only that their government was popular; but that, like other barbarous tribes, they chose a common leader in their wars, whom Greek writers called a King.¶ Their children were taken from home at an early age, to be trained by the state to the endurance of toils and hardships.\*\*

The Sabellians spread even beyond the limits of Italy: for the Mamertini, who passed into Sicily, and after serving as mercenary soldiers, seized the city of Messina (about B.C. 285), were a Samnite colony, sent out by a vow of a sacred spring, and named from the god Mamers or Mars, to whom they were dedicated.††

From the review which we have taken of the Sabellian nations, it is clear, that, if they had remained united as one people, they would have been the masters of Italy, and might have gained that sovereignty of the world which was attained by the Romans. We shall see hereafter, that Rome, in the height of her power, and when they had been for many years her subject allies, was compelled by the Social or Italian war‡‡ to admit them to all the rights of Romans. But the love of independence, which made every little tribe a separate state,

\* Strabo, vi. 1.—1. and 4.

† Polyænus, ii. 10. 2 and 4.

‡ Strabo, vi. 1. 14. Diod. Sic. xii. 36.

§ Diod. Sic. xiv. 91 and 101.

|| Diod. Sic. xiv. 101. Strabo, vi. 1. 1. See Nieb.

note 235, ed. 2. note 303, ed. 3.

¶ Strabo, vi. 1. 10.

\* Strabo, vi. 1. 3.

† Diod. Sic. xvi. 15.

‡ Festus, v. *Bilingues Brutales*.

§ See p. 81.

|| Strabo, vi. 1. 4.

¶ Strabo, vi. 1. 3.

\*\* Justin, xxiii. 1.

†† Festus, v. *Mamertini*.

‡‡ See Outline of Gen. Hist.

and caused every colony to fall loose from its mother country, rendered them incapable of sustained conquest and extended empire.

We shall however form an exaggerated notion of the growth of the Sabine stock, if we conceive that all who are called Sabellians were descendants of the genuine Sabines. All the ancient writers, whose authority is of any weight, distinguish the Sabines and the Sabellian tribes from the Opicans or Oscans. Yet it appears that the dialect of the Samnites was Oscan.\* The Oscan was the language of Campania,† and the Oscan, which formed part of the language of the Bruttians,‡ can have come to them only from the Sabellian Lucanians. The probable solution of this difficulty is that the Opicans or Oscans, whom the Samnites found both in Samnium and in Campania, were not expelled by them, but were mixed with their conquerors in so great a proportion, as to make their common language more akin to the Oscan than to the original Sabine. Varro, even where he distinguishes the languages, testifies that such a mixture had taken place.§ Thus the French imparted their language to the Normans. We must remember also that it is uncertain whether the Sabine and Oscan were originally kindred tongues, or alien each from the other.||

This account of the Sabellian nations has led us beyond our proposed object, a review of the population of Italy before the foundation of Rome, and during its kingly government, into a period which is strictly historical. But the survey of migrations and conquests, of which the stages are marked and the progress measured, will help to clear our conceptions of those earlier movements, which are imperfectly discerned in an obscure antiquity.

§ 8. We pass now to the survey of the Ausonian nations; and under this name we include the race more commonly called Opican or Oscan. We learn from Festus, that the national appellative *Oscus* was a recent and softened form of the ancient name *Opiscus*,

and that *Opiscus* and *Oscus* were the same as *Opicus*. By Aristotle, who followed the Syracusan historian Antiochus, we are told, that the Opici, who dwelt beyond the Ænотri towards Tyrhēnia, were called by the additional name of *Ausones*.\* In order therefore to avoid the confusion which has been caused by the extension of the term Oscan to the language of the mixed Sabellian nations, the name Ausonian has been used in the summary of this chapter as the generic appellation of certain tribes in the middle and south of Italy, distinguished as indigenous from the Pelasgian races, the Tyrrhenians and Ænотrians, but differing nevertheless from the Umbrians and Sabines. Niebuhr, it is true, conceives that Aristotle meant to speak of the Opici as a race, the Ausones as a particular branch of them. Such a statement would have been correct in the time of Aristotle, and perhaps in that of Antiochus; but the words of the philosopher do not necessarily convey this notion. It is rather probable that Ausones was a proper national name; Opici only a descriptive term in the native language of the people, equivalent to indigenous, Aborigines, or Autochthones.† It is manifest however that the name Ausones is of a Greek, not of an Italian, form; and we are expressly informed that the Ausones were the same people as the Aurunci.‡ We may conclude therefore that the indigenous Italian name of the nation was Aurunci.§

\* Polit. vii. 9, (ed. Goettling.) That Antiochus was his authority is evident from a comparison with Strabo, v. 4. 3. vi. 3. 4. and Dion. i. 35. Strabo (v. 4. 3.) cites Antiochus by name, but repeats his statement somewhat less distinctly. He makes him say, that the Opici inhabited Campania, and that they were also called Ausones. From these testimonies it appears that Polybius was in error, when he spoke of the Opici and Ausones as two nations dwelling about the Bay of Naples (Strabo, ib.) Strabo himself erred in like manner, when he distinguished the Ausones and Osci as successive holders of the country between the promontory of Circeii and the borders of Campania (v. 3. 6.) The erroneous distinction was carried still farther by some writer, who described the Opici, Ausones, and Osci, as having inhabited Campania one after the other. (Strabo, v. 4. 3.) See Niebuhr, p. 53, ed. 2: p. 64, ed. 3.

† It is derived by Scaliger from Ops, the Italian name of the goddess Earth.

‡ Serv. on Æn. vii. 727. Dion. Cass. frag. Festus calls the fabulous Auson the founder of Aurunca. Nieb. note 187, ed. 2. note 214, ed. 3.

§ It must not be concealed that there is a difficulty in the way of this conclusion. Livy (viii. 15, 16) speaks of the Aurunci and Ausones as distinct nations. He relates that in A. U. C. 418 the Sidicini attacked the Aurunci, who had before submitted to the Romans: that, before the Romans could give assistance to their allies, the Aurunci, through fear, had deserted their town, and fled with their wives and children,

\* Men skilled in the Oscan tongue are sent as spies into the Samnite camp. Liv. x. 20.

† Meddix was the name of a magistrate among the Oscans: Festus. Medixtricius was the title of the chief magistrate of the Campanians. Liv. xxiii. 35. xxvi. 6.

‡ Festus, v. Bilingues Brutates.

§ Quæ (Sabina) usque radices in Oscam linguam egit. De L. L. vi. 3.

|| See Nieb. p. 54, ed. 2, pp. 65, 67, ed. 3.



The region assigned to the Opici or Ausones by Antiochus and Aristotle is the country beyond Cenotria towards Tyrrhenia. As our knowledge of the south of Italy in the early ages has been derived from the commercial intercourse of the Greeks, we find comparatively little mention of the inhabitants of the inland country: but there is no reason to doubt, that the Opici were the ancient possessors of the Southern Apennines. In this mountainous region we have already seen that they were overpowered and partially dislodged by the Sabellian Samnites: and, in conformity with this tradition, we are told that the region of Italy, which included the cities Beneventum and Cales, was called Ausonia, and that this name was gradually extended so as to comprehend all Italy beneath the Apennines.\* Thus even Strabo describes a portion of the range of hills which enclose Campania as the Oscan Mountains.† But Campania itself was the best known seat of the Opican or Ausonian tribes. Strabo,

and fortified Suessa, which thenceforward was called Aurunca; and that their ancient city was destroyed by the Sidicini. In the following year he tells us that the Romans were engaged in war for the first time with the Ausones; that this people dwelt in the city of Cales, and had joined their arms with their neighbours the Sidicini; that the allied forces were defeated in the field, and Cales taken. Cales, which Livy here describes as the chief city of the Ausones, lay south-east of Teanum, the capital of the Sidicini. But in a subsequent passage, in his account of the final extermination of the Ausones, A. u. c. 440 (ix. 25), he assigns to them the towns of Minturnæ, on the Liris, and Vescia, which lay to the west of Teanum near the sea, in a country which the Roman arms must have traversed repeatedly before 419. Now Suessa Aurunca was between the two districts thus given to the Ausones; and its position alone would make it not unlikely that it belonged to a tribe of the same nation. Moreover, Livy never mentions the Aurunci again, after their removal to Suessa Aurunca. But the war of extermination with the Ausones, in which their city Ausona was taken, A. u. c. 440, is followed immediately by the leading of a Roman colony to Suessa Aurunca (A. u. c. 441, Liv. ix. 28), which, as far as appears from Livy, was a town of peaceable allies of the Roman people. If then we bear in mind that the Sidicines were themselves Oscans, and so of the same race with the Aurunci or Ausones, the probable solution of Livy's narrative will appear to be, that in A. u. c. 418 the Sidicines formed a confederacy with the kindred tribes in their neighbourhood against the Romans; that the withdrawing of the Aurunci to Suessa was a measure (whether voluntary or compulsory) taken for the sake of better defence, not against the Sidicines, whose city Teanum was but six miles distant, but against the Romans; and that these Aurunci were a part of the very same nation with the Ausones of Cales, who were attacked in the following year. Livy has been misled by drawing different parts of his story from different authorities; where he speaks of the Aurunci, from Roman Annals; where he calls them Ausones, from a Greek writer, perhaps Dionysius. The city Ausona is probably Aurunca. See Niebuhr, p. 56, ed. 2; p. 68, ed. 3.

\* See p. 97, and Festus, v. *Ausoniam*.

† Strabo, v. 4. 3.

where he defines the country as the plain which lies above the coast between Sinuessa, at the extremity of the Massic hills, and the promontory of Minerva or of Sirenusæ, cites the authority of Antiochus to show that the Opici or Ausones were the ancient inhabitants of this region.\* But before the settlement of the Picentini, a portion of the Sabellian inhabitants of Picenum, whom the Romans forcibly removed to the coasts of the lower seas,† the name of Campania extended to the river Silarus;‡ and the language of Aristotle leaves no doubt, that Antiochus assigned this coast also to the Opici or Ausones. Here, as at other points along the Campanian coast, the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians settled amongst them;§ and both nations were subsequently overpowered by the Samnites.|| In like manner Strabo distinctly names the Oscans, the Pelasgians, and the Samnites, as the successive possessors of Herculaneum and Pompeii on the bay of Naples.¶ Dionysius likewise, where he mentions that the Pelasgians took possession of no inconsiderable portion of the Campanian plains, states that they partially dislodged a barbarous people, the Aurunci.\*\* It would be an unprofitable labour to try to collect the many testimonies, which prove that the early inhabitants of Campania were of this ancient race. These which have already been adduced are enough to show the fact; and, with those which are subjoined in the note, they may serve also as examples of the way in which the same nation was designated by the different names of Opicans or Oscans, Auruncans or Ausonians.†† Not only were the ancient inhabitants of the country of this race, but in spite of the succes-

\* Strabo, v. 4. 3.

† About A. u. c. 463, according to Cluverius, p. 1188.

‡ Strabo, v. 4. 13.

§ See p. 79.

|| See p. 98.

¶ Strabo, v. 4. 8.

\*\* Dion. l. 21. See above, p. 79.

†† Pliny mentions the Oscans as the earliest possessors of Campania (N. H. iii. 5 (9), quoted in note p. 86). See also Festus, v. *Masius*. The Italian Cuma is distinguished as Cuma in Opicia, or among the Opici (Thucyd. vi. 4. Dion. vii. 3. Scymnus Chius, &c.) A similar description is given of Misenum and Parthenope (Dion. i. 53. Strabo, xiv. 2). Atella, from which the Atellan farces took their name, was mentioned by Greek writers as a city of the Opici; by the Romans, as an Oscan town (Steph. Byz. Ἀττάλα. Liv. vii. 2). Nola was called by Hecateus an Ausonian city (Steph. Byz. Νόλα). The Capuans are called Opicii (Serv. on *Æn.* vii. 729). Virgil enumerates the chief Auruncan and Oscan tribes in order from north to south, in *Æn.* vii. 725-730.

sive settlements and conquests of the Pelasgians, Greeks, Etruscans, and Samnites, the Oscans continued to make the main bulk of the population of Campania,\* till their name became extinct under the dominion of the Romans.†

The Sidicini of Teanum, on the east of the Massic hills, were an Oscan tribe;‡ and, like the other Oscans in this region, were assailed by the Samnites (A. U. C. 413, B. C. 340.) But this attack is especially remarkable, because it furnished the first occasion for the collision of the Roman and Samnite arms.§ The Sidicini, as genuine Oscans, are distinguished from the Campanians of Capua, who were a mixed people of Oscans and Sabellians. We have already seen,|| that the tribes, to which the name of Ausones or Aurunci was peculiarly appropriated, occupied the country around Teanum from Cales to the Liris. But we find that they extended also over the plains on the western side of the river. Strabo describes the region adjacent to the Pomentine plain, between the Circeian promontory and the Liris, as inhabited, first by the Ausones, then by the Osci: the Ausones he mentions likewise as possessors of Campania; the Osci as holding a part of that country.¶ It has been shown above, that one and the same nation is signified by these two names, which were applied to it in different languages and in different ages. In like manner Pliny enumerates the Volsci, the Osci, and the Ausones, as having at different times possessed the country between Circeii and the Liris.\*\* So by Dion Cassius Ausonia was defined as the land of the Aurunci between the Campanians and the Volsci.†† So far, however, was this region from being the proper country of the Ausonian tribes, that they do not appear to have spread themselves into it, till towards the close of the kingly age of Rome. Before that time it seems to have been occupied by a people of Pelasgian race,§§ akin to the Latins who dwelt farther to the north.|||| The pres-

sure of the Sabellians on the northern and eastern borders of Campania drove the Ausonians westward along the coast beyond the Liris.

The Volsci, who hold so important a place in the history of the first age of the Roman republic, must be reckoned as an Ausonian nation. Though their history is much obscured in the Roman annals, it is plain that they were not the original possessors of the territory which they held, but had gradually encroached upon the Latins from the south-east. Since, in their other border, they were contiguous to tribes confessedly of Ausonian race, it follows either that they were a part of a more ancient population dislodged and pushed forward by the Ausonians; or that they were themselves Ausonian, and appeared upon the borders of Latium as a conquering people. For the former alternative, which would almost certainly imply that they were Pelasgians, and of the same blood with the Old Latins, there is no evidence whatever. The latter hypothesis is supported by many probable arguments. Scylax places no people but the Olsi (a name which is manifestly a primitive form of Volsci) between the Latins and Campanians; and he assigns to them all the coast for a day's sail beyond Circeii. But on this coast, as we have seen above, we find not only Volsci, but Aurunci or Ausones; who must all be comprehended by the geographer under this one name.\* If we take the narrative of Livy merely as it stands, where he relates that ambassadors of the Aurunci threatened the senate with war, unless the Romans departed from a district of the Volscian territory which they had lately seized, and that a battle was fought with these Aurunci near Aricia, which lay beyond the border of the Volscian territory towards Rome,† we shall be compelled to admit a close affinity between the Aurunci and the Volscians, whom they succoured so strenuously. But if we read attentively the accounts of the war with the Aurunci, which is placed in A. U. C. 251 and 252, and of the war with the Volsci in A. U. C. 259,‡ we cannot avoid the conviction, that they are only the same story twice told. The three hundred hostages from

\* See end of § 7.

† Strabo, v. 3. 6. 9.

‡ Ib. v. 3. 9.

§ Liv. vii. 29.

|| Note, pp. 100, 101.

¶ Strabo, v. 3. 6.

\*\* Plin. N. H. iii. 5 (9).

†† In Schol. on Lycophron, v. 44.

§§ See p. 79, cols. 1 and 2; and Nieb. p. 44, ed. 3.

|||| The very name of the town of Amyclæ affords evidence of its Pelasgian origin. The strange story, that Amyclæ was destroyed by serpents (Pliny from Varro, iii. 5 (9); vii. 29 (43), &c.), seems to have arisen from the capture and overthrow of the city by the Opici: for the Greek etymologists chose to conceive that the Opici were so called as being *ὀφιοει*,

or serpent-like, the offspring of the earth (Serv. on *Æn.* vii. 729). The serpent was not unfrequently the mythic symbol of an indigenous population.

\* Nieb. p. 57, ed. 2. p. 69, ed. 3.

† Liv. ii. 26. A. U. C. 259. Dionysius believes that these Aurunci came out of Campania, vi. 32.

‡ Liv. ii. 16, 17, 22, 25, 26.



Pometia and Cora, who are mentioned in both cases, as well as other circumstances, identify the events.\* The difference of the dates presents no difficulty, when we remember the confused and uncertain state of the early years of the Fasti.† It appears that Livy found the same people described in different annals by different names, as Aurunci and Volsci, and conceived them to be different nations. Other narratives, in like manner, exhibit marks of the close connexion between the Volscians and the more southern Auruncans. In the year of the city 410 we are told that L. Furius was created Dictator in consequence of a predatory incursion of the Aurunci, and that he brought the war to an end by a single battle; that then he gave up the army to the consuls, Fabius and Sulpicius, who led it against the Volscians, and took their city Sora, on the upper part of the Liris.‡ But from a subsequent passage§ we find that the war with the Aurunci had lasted two years; that it had been pushed into the more southern settlements of the nation; and that they had submitted to the consul T. Manlius, in A. U. C. 411. The wars, therefore, with the Aurunci and Volsci seem to have been one and the same, or at least parts of the same operations. Again, in A. U. C. 440, the revolt and the reduction of Sora is the beginning of the war of extermination with the Ausones.|| We may conclude that the Volsci were a part of the same people with the Aurunci; that those tribes of the nation, which pressed upon the Latins, obtained the peculiar name of Volscians; while those who remained upon the borders of Campania retained their more ancient appellation.

The Volscian language is coupled with the Oscan, at the same time that it is distinguished from it, by the comic poet Titinius.¶ That it was a dialect of the Oscan, and that the Volscians themselves were of Oscan race, seems strongly attested by an inscription on a plate found at the Volscian town Velitræ, where the chief magistrate of Velitræ is called Medix, the title used by the Oscans.\*\*

Velitræ was the point nearest to Rome to which the Volscians extended their dominion. But Dionysius deceived himself, when he stated that Ancus Marcius waged war with the Volscians of Velitræ. The war of Ancus against Velitræ, which was commemorated in the annals, must have been a part of his great war with the Latins, for assuredly in his reign Velitræ was still a Latin town.\*

Though the history of the Volscian conquests is sorely mutilated and disguised in the Roman Annals, we can trace some indications of their progress.† Of the cities on the coast, we have, with regard to the Amyclæ, only the obscure intimation of its capture by the Opici which has been noticed above.‡ But the cities next in order, Terracina, Circeii, and Antium, are enumerated as Latin towns, and subject allies of Rome, in the treaty with Carthage concluded in the first year of the Republic (A. U. C. 245).§ It appears that they were so mentioned likewise in a somewhat later treaty, the date of which Polybius does not give.|| If any proof were wanting to confirm the assertion, that Terracina, when the Romans made stipulations on its behalf, was Latin, not Volscian, it might be found in its name: for the Volscians, when they became masters of it, called it Anxur.¶ There is no reason to doubt the account in the Annals, that the last king was engaged in war with the Volsci.\*\* The statement that he settled military colonies at Circeii and Signia has an aspect of historical truth:†† though with regard to Signia it may be doubted whether it were really settled before A. U. C. 259, when according to the Annals the colony was restored.‡‡ It is clear that these posts must have been fortified against the Volscians, and have been not far from their frontier; and they serve to mark the extent of their

\* Dion. i. 41. Because Velitræ became a Volscian town, Dionysius supposed that it was a Volscian town when it was first named in the Annals. See Nieb. v. ii. p. 93. The blunder is probably his own, and not an old mistake. In our narrative, therefore, of the reign of Ancus, the name of the Volsci ought not to have been introduced. (Chap. i. § 8. p. 17.)

† See Nieb. v. ii. pp. 87—93.

‡ Note, p. 102.

§ Polyb. iii. 22. See Chap. ii. § 6, p. 48.

¶ Pol. iii. 24.

¶ Ennius in Festus. Liv. iv. 59. Plin. iii. 5 (9).

\*\* See chap. i. pp. 24, 25.

†† Liv. i. 56. Dion. iv. 63.

‡‡ Liv. ii. 21. The name gave rise to the story that it was not originally a city, but a camp in which an army had wintered under their standards (Dion.) This supposed a standing army; and such an army seemed more suited to the reign of the tyrant, than to the first years of the republic.

\* Nieb. v. i. p. 57, n. 188, ed. 2. p. 68, n. 215. ed. 3. v. ii. pp. 90, 91.

† See chap. ii. pp. 46 & 49.

‡ Liv. vii. 28.

§ Liv. viii. 15.

¶ Liv. ix. 25.

¶ Osee et Volsee fabulantur, nam Latine nesciunt: in Festus, v. Oscan.

\*\* Lanzi, t. iii. p. 616. Cramer's Ancient Italy, v. ii. p. 82. See, however, Nieb. pp. 57, 58, ed. 2. pp. 70, 71, ed. 3.

territory at the time. The story of the conquest of Suessa Pomertia is liable to greater doubt. The exaggeration of the value of the spoil, and the evident marks of fabrication in the numbers,\* expose the whole story to suspicion. But even if Tarquinius warred against Pomertia and took it, it is more likely that it was then a Latin town,† than that it had already fallen into the power of the Volscians. The dissolution of the union between Rome and Latium, which quickly followed the expulsion of Tarquinius, and the consequent diminution of the power of both states, enabled the Volscians to become aggressors, and to push their conquests among the Latin towns. In the war which has been already mentioned, which Livy has related under the years 251 and 252, and again under 259, the Aurunci or Volsci attacked Pomertia and Cora,‡ and probably then became masters of them for the first time. They were recovered by the Romans; and Pomertia was destroyed, and never appears again in history. Cora was probably one of the Latin cities enumerated in the league of Sp. Cassius, A.U.C. 261.§ This attack of the Volsci induced the Romans to reinforce (or to found) the colony of Signia. Velitræ was probably lost at the same time; and was not recovered till the following year, A.U.C. 260.|| It appears among the Latin towns in the league of Cassius. Military colonies were established at Velitræ and at Norba,¶ to check the aggressions of the Volsci. Their career of conquest was indeed checked for a little while; no doubt, in consequence of the alliance between Rome and Latium formed by Sp. Cassius. But it was renewed with a vigour, which Rome and Latium had no power to resist, in the great war which appeared in the Annals as the war of Coriolanus. The examination of this portion of Roman history

must be reserved for its own place. Here it is sufficient to observe, that Circeii was the first place which fell before the invaders;\* and that they pushed their conquests as far as Antium on the coast, and Velitræ in the inland country.

The Volsci possessed also a territory along the Liris, which was partially separated from their more western settlements by the hilly country of the Hernici.† The fastnesses of the Hernici presented an impregnable bulwark to the Volscians; and their alliance contributed greatly to the safety of Rome. The more exposed portion of their territory suffered from the incursions of the Volscians and Æquans.‡

In their eastern territory, either the Volscians overpowered more early occupants of the same race with themselves, or else the same people appears in a different relation and under different names. Thus Fregellæ on the Liris is described as having anciently belonged to the Opici, but afterwards to the Volsci.§ By Livy it is mentioned as having been first occupied by the Sidicini.|| and then by the Volsci.

The Æqui appear in history as the constant allies of the Volsci, after the latter nation had advanced to the neighbourhood of Rome. This relation suggests the conjecture that they were of kindred race. They were separated from the western Volsci by the country of the Hernici; but they bordered on the eastern Volsci. Their territory was on the west of the lake Fucinus, between the sources of the Liris, the Anio, and the Nar. They were placed between the Marsi and the Sabines on one side, and the Hernici and the Latins on the other. It is probable that they spread themselves up the Liris from the south, dislodging the old Sabellian tribes, and thus divided the Hernici from their parent people the Marsi. From their more advanced situation, it may be conjectured that they assumed the character of an independent people at an earlier period than the Volsci. They appear at an earlier date in Roman history, if we may believe the tradition that Ancus Marcius received from them the Fetial Law.¶ Like the Volsci they encroached

\* See Nieb. p. 451, ed. 2. p. 504, ed. 3.

† There can be no doubt of its Latin origin. Virgil accounted it a colony of Alba (Æn. vi. 776); and it took part with other Latin towns, under the supremacy of Egerius of Tusculum, Dictator of the Latins, in dedicating a grove at Aricia. (Cato, Orig. ii. in Præcian, iv. 4.) See Niebuhr, v. ii. p. 23.

‡ Cora is coupled with Pomertia by Virgil and Cato in the passages cited above. It is mentioned by Dionysius as one of the chief of the Latin towns, whose representatives met at the fountain of Ferenina in the time of Tullus Hostilius, and resolved to oppose the encroachments of Rome after the destruction of Alba. (Dion. iii. 34. See chap. i. p. 15.)

§ Dion. v. 61, amended by Nieb. v. ii. n. 21.

|| Liv. ii. 30.

¶ A.U.C. 260 and 262. Liv. ii. 31, 34. As they were independent Latin towns, these colonies must be considered only as garrisons placed there with the consent of the Latins.

\* Liv. ii. 39. Dion. viii. 14.

† See p. 97.

‡ Liv. iii. 6. iv. 51.

§ Steph. Byz. Φρίγιλλæ.

|| If we may trust the correction of Sigoninus in viii. 22.

¶ See chap. i. § 8. p. 16. This tradition is supposed by some writers to relate to the Falisci, or people of Falerii, who were also called Æqui (Æn. vii. 695, and Servius; Sil. Ital. viii. 491; Strabo, v. 2. 9.)



upon Latium; and *Bolæ* and *Vitellia* were Alban townships, which passed under the dominion of the *Æqui*. In the height of their power their yearly custom was to advance and pitch their camp on Mount *Algidus*, and thence to descend upon the cultivated lands of *Tusculum* and the other Latin towns which lay below. Their wars were little more than forays for the sake of booty. They are described by *Virgil* as possessing the hardihood and the predatory habits common to savage mountaineers.\* The *Æqui* are called also *Æquiculi* and *Æquani*.

As the *Volsci* and *Æqui* were the most recent of the Ausonian nations, more is known of them historically than of the earlier branches of the same race. For this reason they have occupied the greatest share of our attention. Our lack of knowledge compels us to make but brief mention of the more ancient tribes, which constituted a part of the population of *Latium*. For the *Volscians* and *Æquans*, in their wars with the *Latins*, were attacking a people, of which one element was sprung originally from the same stock as themselves. As the progress of the *Sabellian Samnites* southward along the *Apennines*, forced the *Opican* mountaineers into *Campania* and the adjacent region, and thus caused a back current of migration, which finally brought the *Volsci* into the plains of *Latium*; so, in former times, the *Sabines*, in their earliest seats, dislodged an ancient people, who retreated down the *Tiber*, and mixed and united themselves with the *Pelasgians* of the coast. It has been already observed, that this ancient people, whom *Varro* called *Aborigines*, may safely be reckoned as *Opicans*.† This is the earliest historical notice which we possess of the indigenous element of the mixed people of the *Latins*: but it is very possible that the *Opicans* pressed as conquerors upon the *Pelasgians*, before they themselves were forced to retreat from the *Sabines*. The more exact investigation of the origin of the *Latins* has been reserved for a separate section (§ 10.) Here we shall observe further only, that *Aristotle* described *Latium* as a district of *Opica*.‡

There are vestiges at least of an opi-

but who cannot reasonably be supposed to have any connexion with the *Æqui* on *Jake Fucinus*, from whom they were separated by the whole *Sabine* territory.

\* *Æn.* vii. 746—749.

† *P.* 95.

‡ In *Dion.* i. 72.

nion, that the *Ausonians* were the native inhabitants of all the south of *Italy*, before the *Pelasgians* established themselves in the country. *Dionysius*, in narrating the migration of *Cenotrus*, says that the western sea, which was afterwards called the *Tyrrhenian*, was then called the *Ausonian*, from the *Ausones*, who dwelt near it.\* *Hellanicus* described the *Siceli* as *Ausonians* who fled from the *Iapyges*;† and hence we may conjecture that he was the author of the tradition, that when the sons of *Lycæon*, *Iapyx*, *Daunus*, and *Peuceius*, settled in *Italy* on the coasts of the *Adriatic*, they drove out the *Ausones*.‡ Not the *Tyrrhene* sea, but the sea between *Sicily* and the *Iapygian* promontory, was called *Ausonian* by *Polybius* and *Pliny*;§ and the reason is expressly assigned, because the *Ausones* first occupied its shores. *Strabo* confirms the use of the name, but denies that the *Ausonians* ever dwelt on that sea.|| Yet he describes *Temesa* on the *Tyrrhene* sea, but a little north of the *Napetine* bay, as founded by the *Ausones*.¶ It is worthy of notice also that *Cato* named the *Aurunci* as the first possessors of *Rhegium*.\*\*

With respect to the affinities of this ancient race, we have scarcely ground even for conjecture. We know from *Dionysius*, that some writers supposed the *Aborigines*, by whom in this case must be understood *Opicans*, to be a branch of the *Ligures*.†† The position of the *Opican* tribes along the *Apennines*, gives some probability to this hypothesis.‡‡ When *Philistus* affirmed the *Siceli* to be *Ligurians*, it is not unlikely, that he agreed with *Hellanicus* in considering them as *Ausonians*, but supposed the *Ausonians* to be a *Ligurian* nation.§§

In inquiring into the extent of the *Ausonian* race, we must be careful not to be misled by the recent application of their name. The *Alexandrian* poets, who affected the use of an obsolete language, and ancient appellations, and not rarely used both improperly, employed the name *Ausonia* in a vague manner for almost all parts of *Italy*; and later

\* *Dion.* i. 11.

† *Dion.* i. 22.

‡ *Antonin. Lib. Met.* ch. 31, from *Nicander*.

§ *Plin.* N. H. iii. 5, (10). 16, (15).

|| *Strabo*, v. 3. 6.

¶ *vi.* 1. 5.

\*\* *Cato, Orig.* iii. No doubt *Cato* followed some Greek authority which spoke of *Ausones*, and translated the name into the Latin form.

†† *Dion.* i. 10.

‡‡ See *p.* 65.

§§ See *p.* 82.

writers adopted it as a poetical term for the whole country.\*

§ 9. We have now examined the early population of every part of Italy, except the region which comprehends the eastern peninsula, intercepted between the Gulf of Tarentum and the Adriatic sea, and the country beyond, along the coast of the Adriatic, included between the sea and the mountains, as far as the promontory of Garganus. This region the Greeks called Iapygia. The name Apulia has been used in the same sense in the summary of this chapter. This usage, it must be confessed, is not correct; since Apulia denoted properly only the more northern district, and does not seem to have comprised the Iapygian peninsula.

The ancient inhabitants of the proper Apulia, extending from Mount Garganus to the eastern branch of the Apennines, were the Daunians and Peucetians.† The Italian name of the Peucetians was the *Pœdiculi*. These tribes seem to have been of Pelasgian origin. In the old genealogies, Peucetius appeared as a Lycaonid, the grandson of Pelasgus, and the brother of Ænotrus; and was said to be the chief of the Peucetians, as Ænotrus of the Ænotrians.‡ Strabo alludes to the same story, when he says that their country appears to have received Arcadian settlers.§ In the story of Nicander above mentioned, Iapix, Daunus, and Peucetius, are three sons of Lycaon. But there are many heroic legends which represent Diomedes as the leader of the Daunians;|| and these, whatever may be thought of their origin, are at least indications of some community of race between the people of these countries and of the opposite coasts of Greece.¶

There were also traditions that the *Pœdiculi* and Daunians were descended from the Illyrians.\*\* It is not improbable that some small tribes of that nation may have crossed the Adriatic, and settled themselves upon the Italian coast. Niebuhr conjectures that by Illyrians are meant Liburnians, such as the old settlers in Picenum.††

The inhabitants of the peninsula are called by the Greeks Messapians, or Messapian Iapygians. There was a tradition, repeated under various forms, that they were originally Cretans; and their settlement was connected with an expedition of Minos to Sicania or Sicily.\* The foundation of Hyria or Uria, a city midway between Tarentum and Brundisium, which was considered as the capital of the Messapians, was ascribed to this Cretan colony. The origin of this singular tradition appears to have been, that the Messapians were really connected with a people of the same name in Locris, upon the shore of the bay of Crissa;† and that the Crissæan Messapians, as subjects of the temple of the Pythian Apollo, were derived by the mythologers from Crete.‡

We can collect that in very early times, the country about the Iapygian Promontory was held by the Leuternians, who were said to be the remains of an ancient race that inhabited Campania.§ In later ages the peninsula was possessed by two tribes which are known to us by their Italian names, the Sallentines and the Calabrians. The Sallentines dwelt upon the interior coast on the gulf of Tarentum; the Calabrians on the Adriatic sea.|| The Sallentines are conjectured to have been the same people as the Leuternians: the Calabrians were probably the same as the Messapians.¶ The chief town of the Calabrians was Brundisium; and they are enumerated by Scylax among the people of Iapygia under the name of Brentesines or Brundusians. We are told by Justin, that the earlier inhabitants of Tarentum, who were expelled by the Lacedæmonian settlers, retreated to Brundisium;\*\* and by Strabo, that the Lacedæmonian companions of Phalanthus wrested from Brundisium a large portion of its territory.†† We know also, that there were continued wars between the Tarentines and the Messapians, which were remarkable for their destructive vicissitudes.‡‡ At one period

\* Herod. vii. 170. Strabo, vi. 3. 2, and 6. See Niebuhr, pp. 124. 146, edd. 2, 3.

† Thuc. iii. 101.

‡ See an article on the Messapians in the First Number of the Philological Museum, Cambridge, 1831; and refer to Serv. on *Æn.* iii. 332.

§ Compare Strabo, vi. 3. 5, with Scylax emended by Niebuhr, pp. 123, 145, edd. 2, 3; and Lycoph. *æ.* 978.

|| Strabo, vi. 3. 1.

¶ A triumph is recorded in the *Fasti* over the Messapians and Sallentines, A. U. C. 483.

\*\* Justin, iii. 4.

†† Strabo, vi. 3. 6.

‡‡ See Niebuhr, pp. 125, 147, edd. 2, 3.

\* See Niebuhr, p. 23, and note 50, ed. 3.

† Strabo, vii. 3. 1. and 8.

‡ Dion. i. 11. and Pherecydes in c. 13. See above, p. 80.

§ Strabo, vi. 3. 8.

|| Strabo, vi. 3. 9. Plin. iii. 11, (16). Virg. *Æn.* xi. 243, &c.

¶ See Niebuhr, pp. 127, 149, edd. 2, 3.

\*\* Plin. iii. 11, (16). Festus, v. Daunia.

†† Niebuhr, p. 126, ed. 2. pp. 143, 149, ed. 3.



(B. c. 475), the injured Messapians inflicted upon the allied armies of the Tarentines and Rhegians the most deadly defeat that was ever suffered by any Grecian state.\* This ancient enmity was the cause of their friendship to the Athenians in the Sicilian expedition.†

Scylax names Opici among the inhabitants of Iapygia. The conjecture of Niebuhr seems almost certain, that the Apulians, properly so called, were an Opican tribe, who overpowered the Daunians and Peucetians. The Apulians extended along the coast on the northern side of the promontory Garganus, as far as the river Tifernus, by which they were divided from the Frentani.‡ If the Frentani ever dwelt on the banks of the river Frento, as their name seems to indicate, the Apulians had forced them to recede.

#### § 10. *The Latins—Alba.*

It has been thought necessary to take a careful survey of the early population of Italy, not only that we might gain some knowledge of the nations in the midst of which the Roman State grew up, but that we might be able, in some measure, to discern the elements of which it was itself composed. Some parts of our researches, which may have seemed irrelevant, inasmuch as they led to no positive conclusion respecting the origin and growth of the Roman people, have in reality been useful by shutting out the unfounded speculations and arbitrary hypotheses by which many writers have confused the subject. If, however, the reader is weary of feeling his way through an obscure maze, which seems to be no part of our proposed journey, he will be rejoiced that we have at length arrived at that step in our investigations, which is, in fact, the beginning of the History of Rome; an inquiry into the origin and early condition of the Latins, the first allies and the first subjects of Rome, the authors of her language, and the chief element in her population.

We have already shown generally, in the fifth section of this chapter, that all the western coast of Italy, from Pisæ southward, was at some time inhabited by nations of Pelasgian race. We have adduced in particular some testimonies, by which it appears that not only Etruria and Campania, but the intervening

country between the Tiber and the Liris, was held by Tyrsenians or Tyrsenian Pelasgians. Of these testimonies, the most ancient and the most remarkable is the legend of Hesiod in his heroic genealogies, that Agrius and *Latinus*, sons of Ulysses and Circe, ruled over all the renowned Tyrsenians. Other mythologers, probably Italian Greeks of a much later age, symbolized the affinity of the Latins with the ancient races of Greece, by representing *Latinus* as the son of *Hercules*.\* There was another tradition more commonly received, which pointed to the Pelasgian origin of the early population, not merely of Latium, but more particularly of Rome itself. Evander is said to have led a colony from Arcadia, (the chronologers fixed the date of his migration about sixty years before the Trojan war,) and to have founded a town Palantium on the hill which the Romans afterwards called the Palatine.† He was received with hospitality and friendship by *Faunus*, the king of the Aborigines, and was believed to have introduced into Latium the use of letters and the other arts of civilization.‡ This legend was commonly believed among the Romans; and *Virgil*, by working it into his epic poem, has made it familiar to all who have any knowledge of antiquity. The earliest mention which we find of it is in a reference to *Polybius*:§ but the whole aspect of the tradition, and the circumstance that an altar was raised to *Evander*, and religious honours paid to him, show that the belief was handed down from early times. It is difficult to trace the origin of all parts of the tradition. No one can believe that it is historically true. The prophetic *Carmenta*, the mother of *Evander*, appears to have been an object of Sabine worship. At least her altar was at the foot of the Sabine hill, the Capitol; and the adoption of the festival of the *Carmentalia* by the Romans was referred to the union of the *Quirites* and Romans under *Tatius* and *Romulus*.|| The mention of *Pallantium* in *Mænalia* as the birth-place of the founder of *Palatium*, was suggested, beyond doubt, merely by the likeness of names. Nevertheless, the distinctive

\* Dion. i. 43. Justin, xliii. 1.

† Dion. i. 31, &c. Virg. *Æn.* viii. 51, &c.

‡ Liv. i. 7. Tac. Ann. xi. 14.

§ Dion. i. 32. See ch. ii. § 3, p. 44.

|| Dion. i. 32. Liv. v. 47. Plut. Rom. Plutarch makes *Carmenta* the wife of *Evander*.

\* Her. vii. 170.

† Thuc. vii. 33.

‡ Plin. iii. 11, (16.)

feature of the tradition, that Evander was an Arcadian, and led an Arcadian colony to the banks of the Tiber, must have arisen from a perception, that in the mythology and religious ceremonies of the earliest inhabitants of Rome, in their language and letters, there was much which clearly testified their affinity to the early population of Greece.\*

In fact, we have in our own hands far more valid proofs of the affinity of the Latins with the Pelasgians, or primitive Greeks, than could be furnished by any traditions: incomparably stronger, therefore, than any arguments which can be drawn from legends so scanty and vague and unhistorical as those which we have recounted. It would, indeed, have been superfluous to adduce these legends as testimonies of the national affinity: but a reasonable curiosity is gratified by inquiring what memory was preserved of a relation which undoubtedly existed. The traces of such a relation are to be sought, as has been intimated, in the mythology and in the language of Latium. †

When we speak of a resemblance between the Latin and the Grecian mythology, we do not mean the resemblance which existed at a later period, when, in consequence of the intercourse between Rome and Greece, the Romans had confounded almost all the peculiarities of their national religion; when the principal deities of Latium were so entirely identified with the gods of Greece, that all the fables of the Greek poets were attached to the Latin names, and fictions, which had been invented of Artemis or Hephæstus were repeated, without scruple, of Diana and Vulcan; when the objects of Grecian worship, to which no corresponding divinity existed in Italy, were adopted by the authority of the senate or the caprice of poets; and the indigenous deities, to whom no parallel could be found in Greece, were gradually forgotten and disowned. Our argument is, that in the early and unadulterated mythology of Latium, though our knowledge of it is miserably imperfect, and though much of it was of native Italian growth, we are able to distinguish strong

features of resemblance to the religion of Greece. Indeed the subsequent identification could not have taken place so completely, unless such a resemblance had originally existed. And this resemblance is most distinctly visible, when we compare the objects of Italian worship with the old Pelasgian gods, which were, for the most part, personifications of the elements and powers of nature. The likeness fails, when we look to those deities which were imported into Greece by foreign settlers, or were peculiar to its more recent races. Thus the supreme deities of the sky and air, Zeus and Here, the Zeus and Dione of the Pelasgic temple of Dodona, appear in Italy as Jupiter and Juno. Poseidon, the god of the sea, is reproduced as Neptunus. Demeter, or Mother Earth, a great object of Pelasgic adoration, is represented by Ops or Ceres. Vesta has suffered scarcely a change of name from her Pelasgian form as Hestia. The exact prosecution of this inquiry would be enough to constitute a separate work, and would require no little learning and labour and discretion. It is sufficient for our present purpose to have indicated the nature of the argument.

But the monuments, which place our position beyond a doubt, are to be found in the Latin language. A very great number of its radical words are manifestly radical words in Greek.\* In some few instances the radical word survives in the Latin, while in the Greek only its derivatives appear. It can even be shown, satisfactorily, that the Latin language resembles most nearly the most ancient dialects of the Greek: and, in fact, the comparison of the Latin is absolutely necessary for the knowledge of the primitive state of the Greek language. Not only are words the same in both, but the inflexions of the two languages have a general resemblance in their way of expressing the relations of notions, and present a partial similarity in their forms. At the same time, both in the words and in the inflexions, the presence of another element altogether distinct from the Greek, of which we shall presently speak more exactly, is equally visible. The use of the same

\* This is plainly indicated in Dion. i. 32, 33. Among the religious rites, which Dionysius conceives to be proofs of the reality of the Arcadian Colony, he specifies particularly the Lupercalia, or games of Pan, and the worship of Ceres (Demeter), of which the ministers and the ceremonies were to his day the same as in Greece. We know that the worship of Demeter was Pelasgian. Herod. ii. 171.

\* It may be necessary to assure the unlearned reader, that it is perfectly easy to distinguish such words as are ancient elements of the language from those which were borrowed from the Greek at a later period.



alphabet is, by itself, no proof of a sameness of race: for a nation may adopt the alphabet of a people of a different language, and altogether alien. But when similarity in the written character goes along with similarity in the spoken language, it may fairly be considered as a confirmation of the hypothesis of a national affinity. The Latin alphabet, in the form of its characters, accords with the earliest Greek inscriptions. It wants letters which appear only in the more recent Greek writing, and retains letters which were disused in Greek: and in both particulars it agrees with the historical accounts which were preserved by the Greeks of the gradual formation of their alphabet. Thus, both in their spoken and written language, we have incontestable proofs of the affinity of the Latins with the primitive people of Greece; and this primitive people we have safely assumed to be the Pelasgians.

• To these arguments may be added the testimony of the early architecture of Latium. The ruins of the walls of Norba and of Cora, and of other towns, present that rude and gigantic fashion of building which has been called Cyclopiæ, and which we find in the remains of Argos, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, and in many other parts of Greece, and likewise in the cities of Etruria. It cannot reasonably be questioned that the Cyclopiæ architects were the Pelasgians.\*

If there were any inhabitants of Latium more ancient than the Pelasgian race, they were probably Ligurians:† but it is doubtful whether we have any distinct tradition respecting them. This question is involved in the disputed point which has been discussed above, the origin and affinity of the Siculi.‡ That the Siculi in early times dwelt in Latium and about the Tiber, and indeed upon the site of Rome itself, was attested both by Latin and by Cœnorian traditions.§ If Philistus was right in believing them to be Ligurians, we must assent to the other part of his account, that they were expelled by the Pelasgians.|| On the other hand, the arguments of Niebuhr, which have been already stated, lead to the conclusion that the Siculi were themselves the Pelasgians of Latium. How-

ever this may be, it is certain that in the course of time the Pelasgians themselves were overpowered and partially dislodged by an indigenous race, highlanders of the Apennines, who descended upon them from the mountains which form the basins of the rivers Nar and Velinus. It has been already briefly stated that these conquerors were a tribe of Opicans, and that their encroachments upon the Pelasgians of the coast were caused, at least in part, by the pressure of the Sabines.\*

The investigation of the early history of Latium, and of the formation of the Latin people, has been confused and obscured by the uncertain use of the term *Aborigines*. This is the name which the Romans gave generally and vaguely to their earliest ancestors. It is a descriptive appellation, and signifies those who were inhabitants of a country from the beginning, and so is equivalent to the Greek term *Autochthones*.† But it soon came to be used as a proper national name. The Cassandra of Lycophron predicts that Æneas will build thirty castles in the land of the *Boreigoni*. The authors whom Lycophron followed must have used the term for the natives of Latium as distinguished from the fancied Trojan settlers. Sallust applies it in like manner; and he chooses to describe his Aborigines as savages, without laws or government or any civil society. Other writers, who were guided in their researches into antiquity by really historical traditions, and who endeavoured to trace the national affinities of the mixed people of Latium, unfortunately differed in their application of the general descriptive term Aborigines. There were two distinct races, who might, in a certain measure, be considered as the ancestors of the Latins; and the name Aborigines was given to both. When Cato and Sempronius, and many other writers, (according to the statement of Dionysius‡,) affirmed the Aborigines to be Greeks who dwelt formerly in Achaia, and migrated many generations before the Trojan war; it is manifest that by this term they designated the settlers on the coasts, a people of Pelasgic origin, “the renowned Tyrsenians” of Hesiod: and Dionysius was not mistaken in assuming a close affinity between these Aborigines and the Cœnotrians. It was

\* See p. 92.

† See p. 65.

‡ See pp. 81–83.

§ Dion. i. 9 ii. 1. Varro, de L. L. iv. 10. Antiochus, in Dion. i. 73. A part of the town of Tibur bore the name of Sicellon (Siculum) in the time of Dionysius: Dion. i. 16.

“By Umbrians and Pelasgians,” in Dion. i. 22.\*

\* See pp. 97, 105.

† Nieb. p. 79, ed. 3.

‡ Dion. i. 11.

in this sense that Cato related that the Aborigines were the ancient inhabitants of the Volscian plains. On the other hand, when Terentius Varro enumerated in his Antiquities the ancient towns of the Aborigines, situated in the valley of the Apennines and along their declivities, of which the nearest were a day's journey distant from Rome;—Palatium, from which it is likely that the settlement on the Palatine Hill took its name; Suna, where there was a very ancient temple of the Italian god of war, Mars, or Mamers, or Mamers; Orvinium, of the size and importance of which traces still remained in the foundations of its walls, its ancient sepulchres and lofty barrows; Tiora, where the responses of an ancient oracle of Mars were delivered by a woodpecker, a bird sacred to the deity of war, and held in reverence among the Italian nations; and, besides several other towns, Lista, the chief city of the Aborigines, which was wrested from them by the Sabines, and which, when their efforts to recover it had proved ineffectual, they dedicated to the gods, pronouncing a curse on all who should reap the fruit of their lands;—it is manifest that he applied the name to an indigenous Italian people, the natives of the mountains.\* The name must have been so applied by those who supposed the Aborigines to be Ligurians or Umbrians.† Dionysius has caused an almost inextricable confusion in his history of the early nations of Italy, by conceiving that the same people was designed by all the writers who spoke of the Aborigines. If we were to inquire to which race the appellation would be more properly given, it would be difficult to determine the question. If the name be used only with reference to Latium, the Pelasgians were the older inhabitants: but the mountaineers were the indigenous population of Italy; and if they were called Opici, as being the children of the soil, they might well claim the similar title of Aborigines. In order, therefore, to avoid confusion, we shall abstain from the use of this ambiguous name, and distinguish each people by a more peculiar appellation.‡

From the heroic legend of Hesiod, that Latinus, the son of Ulysses and

Circe, ruled over the renowned Tyrsenians, we may reasonably conjecture that the name of Latins belonged properly to the Tyrsenian or Pelasgian element of the nation, though it was afterwards applied to the mixed people. The tribe, who came down as conquerors from the mountains, seem to have been called Sacrani: a name which denoted, or was supposed to denote, that they had gone forth from their home in pursuance of a vow of a Sacred Spring.\* It appears probable likewise, that they were by some writers called Casci: whether this was merely an Oscan word, signifying *ancient*, and so synonymous with Aborigines; or whether, as Niebuhr supposes, it was a national name, which afterwards came to be used as a common adjective, just as *Opicus* in Latin, and *Gothic* in English, are used to express antiquity and barbarism.†

We before appealed to the evidence afforded by the Latin language, that one stock of the nation was a Pelasgian race. From the same source we derive an incontrovertible proof, that this element was blended with another altogether different. A large proportion of the words of the Latin language have no affinity with the Greek; and many are quite dissimilar in the combinations of letters which they present. The inflexions, especially of the verbs, have to a great extent a peculiar character. Even when the themes are purely Greek, they are subjected to the inflexions of another language. It is manifest, therefore, that the Latin language is composed of two elements; but of its native Italian roots we have comparatively little knowledge derived from extrinsic sources. The writings of grammarians point to the Oscan, if not as the parent stock, at least as a cognate tongue: and the inscriptions which have been discovered in Campania, and other parts in which the Oscan was spoken, and which are reasonably believed to be Oscan, confirm this opinion. Of these inscriptions, according to Niebuhr, "some may be made out word for word, others

\* Dion. i. 1 & 14.

† Dion. i. 10 & 13.

‡ Niebuhr, in the second edition of his first volume, used the term Aborigines in the sense of Varro; in the third edition he has followed the example of Cato, and denounced the other use of the word as an error.

\* See p. 65; and compare Festus, v. *Sacrani*, with Varro in Dion. i. 14; and Serv. on *Æn.* vii. 796, with Dion. i. 16. So little certainty can be attained in these investigations, that a question might be raised whether the Sacrani were not the Sabines of the Quirinal. But the hypothesis adopted in the text, which Niebuhr also has followed, seems more probable.

† Ennius in Varro de L. L. vi. and Cic. Tusc. Q. i. 12: "Casci populi genere Latini." Also Sausseus in Serv. on *Æn.* i. 6. Nieb. p. 63, ed. 2; p. 78, ed. 3.



in part at least, with complete certainty, and without any violence. We discover therein that other element which is mixed up with the Greek part of the Latin language; and the forms are such as in Latin have lost some of their syllables and their terminations, after the custom of languages when they intermix and grow old: grammatical forms too and inflexions are common, which, in Latin, appear but rarely, and as exceptions."\* This affinity between the Oscan and the element of the Latin language which is not Greek, places beyond a doubt the conclusion which may be drawn from historical tradition, and from our knowledge of the geographical distribution of the Italian tribes: that the Cascans or Sacrani, or by whatever name we call the highlanders who overpowered the Tyrsenians of the coast, belonged to the stock of the Oscans or Opicans.

But the discerning mind of Niebuhr has observed that more precise information may be drawn from the language, and that it is, in fact, a monument of the habits and mutual relation of the two races. 'It cannot be mere chance, that the words for *a house, a field, a plough, ploughing, wine, oil, milk, kine, swine, sheep, apples*, and others relating to agriculture and gentler ways of life, should agree in Latin and Greek; while the Latin words for all objects appertaining to war or the chase are utterly alien from the Greek.† It is manifest that the Pelasgian Latins were an agricultural, or, at least, a pastoral people, more wealthy, and more civilized; while the Cascans were barbarian conquerors. It is probable that a portion of the Pelasgian population was dislodged and migrated southward along the coast. If we admit the identity of the Siculi with the Latin Pelasgians, we have a distinct tradition of their migration, with the express assertion that they were expelled by the Opici. It is certain, however, that a large portion remained in the country; especially in its southern districts. Those communities which were reduced to subjec-

tion probably still continued to be the tillers of the soil, while the conquerors lived among them as a military and ruling class; so that their mutual relation would resemble that of the Achæan Pericæci and their Dorian masters in the states of Peloponnesus.

The intermixture of the two races was symbolized in the old legend by the hospitable reception of the Arcadian Evander by Faunus, king of the Aborigines, and by the union of the Trojan followers of Æneas with the native subjects of Latinus; and again, in another shape, by Latinus giving his daughter Lavinia in marriage to Æneas; and Evander, who now becomes the representative of the indigenous race, his daughter Launa (which is only another form of Lavinia) to the Grecian Hercules.

The common tradition of the Romans represented the ancient Latin State as a federation of thirty towns, of which Alba was the head. This account seems to be true of the constitution of Latium at the time of the origin of Rome; although it did not comprehend the whole truth. But the tradition added, that the thirty towns were all colonies of Alba.\* This statement is manifestly inconsistent with other traditions. In the poetical legend,† Ardea, Laurentum, and Lavinium, are represented as older than Alba. Tibur is mentioned as a Sicilian town: and the same account seems to be given of Antemnæ, Tellena, and Ficulnea.‡ Tibur and Tellena appear in the list of the thirty Latin towns, with which war was waged in the first years of the Republic;§ but, if they were of Sicilian origin, they were of higher antiquity than any tradition assigns to Alba. The error by which the chief city of a nation is assumed to be the parent of the inferior towns is in the customary style of traditional history.

In the poetical representation of Virgil we find the Latins, or Tyrrhenians, divided into two bodies, the kingdoms of Latinus and Turnus, of which the capitals were Laurentum and Ardea.|| That this is not a mere fiction, but that the learned poet was guided by some historical authority, we have a strong testimony in the statement of Strabo, that there was a temple of Venus near

\* Nieb. vol. i. p. 67, ed. 3. In another passage (p. 81) he observes: "The Oscan words that appear in Latin are contracted and curtailed, as the Zend words are in Persian; and such must always be the case, when a difficult and harsh language, abounding in polysyllables, is adopted by a nation whose tongue has a different character."

† Nieb. v. i. p. 82, ed. 3. This subject is pursued further by Müller, *Etrusk.* v. i. p. 16. It is observable that the names of the species of corn are not Greek.

\* Liv. i. 3 and 52. Dion. i. 45, iii. 31 and 34. So in Lycophron the thirty castles built by Æneas in the land of the Boregoni.

† See p. 6.

‡ Dion. i. 16.

§ Dion. v. 61. Nieb. v. ii. n. 21.

|| Nieb. v. ii. p. 21.

Ardea, where the Latins held a general meeting; and that at Lavinium also there was a temple of Venus common to the Latins.\* Such common temples and public festal meetings, both in Italy and Greece, were usually connected with political federations.† The legend seems to mark the Ardean temple, and consequently the Rutulian confederacy, as the older. If the two leagues existed together, the Rutulian probably included the more southern Tyrrhenians, in the district which was afterwards conquered by the Volscians;‡ the Lavinian, the towns which were more properly accounted Latin, and perhaps even those beyond the Anio. To the latter confederacy alone we now direct our attention.

It can scarcely be doubted that the very name Lavinium signified the common place of meeting of the Latins.§ But the Latins of whose confederacy Lavinium was the head must have been the old Pelasgian Latins. This is indicated satisfactorily by the religious tradition, that the temples of Lavinium were the seats of the Penates, the peculiar gods of the Trojans, which they refused to relinquish for the new settlement at Alba:¶ for the Penates were ascertained, by the most judicious antiquaries to be the same as the Pelasgian gods the Cabiri, whose worship was preserved in the Pelasgian island of Samothrace.¶ The introduction of the Trojan story has disfigured the historical traditions of Latium; but thus much is certain, that Lavinium was believed to be older than Alba; and this belief tallies with the conclusion that Lavinium was the chief town of a league of the old Pelasgian Latins. Of the members of this league we can speak only by very uncertain conjecture. They were probably thirty in number, like the towns of the later Latin leagues; but amongst them

must have been the towns of which we read in the wars of the Roman kings, but which, whether they were conquered by Rome, or whether from other causes they ceased to exist, do not appear in the list of the Latin States which were parties to the treaty of Spurius Cassius, A.U.C. 261; such as Cæcina, Crustumæ, Antemnæ, Cameria, Politorium, Ficana or Ficulea, Medullia, Ameriola, and Apiolæ.\*

If Lavinium was the chief city of the Pelasgian people of Latium, and Alba, which according to universal tradition was afterwards the head of the Latins, was more recent than Lavinium, the conclusion seems probable, that Alba was a settlement of the Cascan or Saceranian conquerors. This conjecture is strengthened by our finding a town of the same name in the inland mountainous country on the borders of the Fucine Lake.† But even when Alba became the imperial city of the united nations, Lavinium maintained its religious sanctity. The Penates, according to the marvellous legend, were still worshipped in its shrines; meetings of the Latins were still held in the temple of Venus; and it was probably in such a national assembly that the Latins rose up against the stranger Tatius and slew him for daring to insult their national honour.‡ But Lavinium appears to have received a colony of the ruling nation; and the six hundred guardians of the sacred rites, who according to the legend were sent back from Alba, when the Penates refused to leave their old abodes, were probably three hundred Cascan colonists associated with equal rights with the same number of the older people.§

All memory of the real origin of Alba has been effaced by the substitution of the story of its foundation by Iulus and the Trojans of Lavinium. We only conjecture that it was a city of the Cascans. The later writers, who adopted without question all the Trojan legend, fixed the time of the foundation of Alba in accordance with the date assigned by the Greek chronologers for the taking of Troy. But the genuine Italian tradition made Alba only three hundred years older than Rome.¶ It is said that a race of kings reigned there who bore the

\* Strabo, v. 3.

† See above; Temple of the Aventine Diana, p. 22; and Heeren's Sketch of the Political History of Greece, c. vii.

‡ See above, p. 79.

§ 'I am not offering an hypothesis, but the plain result of unprejudiced observation, when I remark, that Lavinium, as its name implies, was the seat of congress for the Latins, who were also called Lavines; just as Panionium was that for the Ionians in Asia.' Nieb. v. i. p. 198. So also in p. 83: 'Latinus in a different dialect was called Lavinus, whence ignorant expounders have given him a brother, the founder of Lavinium.' Serv. on *Æn.* i. 2.

¶ See p. 6, and Timæus in Dion. i. 67.

¶ See Dion. i. 68, 69; Atticus in Schol. Veron. on *Æn.* ii. 717, cited by Niebuhr; Serv. on *Æn.* iii. 12; and Herod. ii. 51.

\* See Nieb. v. ii. p. 20.

† See Nieb. v. ii. p. 19, n. 23. Perhaps the name was significant of the elevated site of the town, and involved the same root as Alp.

‡ See p. 10, and Dion. ii. 51, 52; Liv. i. 14.

§ See Nieb. v. i. pp. 197, 198; v. ii. p. 19.

¶ See p. 6, and Nieb. v. i. pp. 202, 3. Justin, xliii. 1.



common name of Silvii, and were the descendants of Silvius, the son of Æneas and Lavinia. The way in which the story distinguishes this stock from the genuine Trojan descendants of Iulus seems to indicate that the Silvii were commemorated in national traditions which the foreign legend could not entirely displace. Of the history of Alba nothing was recorded save the poetic tale of the foundation of Rome. The power of the city was marked by its public works. It was made inaccessible by cutting the rocks along which it stood sheer down to the edge of the lake; and the lake was prevented from overflowing by a tunnel which let out the water to fertilize the plains beneath. In the Roman Annals this outlet is represented as a Roman work, executed during the siege of Veii, in the middle of the fourth century of the city, to fulfil the prediction of an Etruscan soothsayer.\* But such a labour had manifestly a practical purpose, and was executed by those who had an interest in the lands which it saved from floods and enriched by regular irrigation. Hence we conclude that the tunnel was the work of the Latins; and it is likely enough that it was made while Alba was still standing.† A similar work preserved the name of an Alban prince to succeeding ages, and, like the former, continues at this day, after the lapse of two thousand five hundred years, to fulfil its beneficial purpose. The Valley of Grottaferatta, beneath the Tusculan hills, which seems to have been anciently called the Alban Valley, is the bed of a marsh or lake which has been drained by two channels. One of these is merely a canal which runs into the Anio; but the other is a tunnel hewn through the rock for the length of half a mile, and carrying the waters into the thirsty fields of the Campagna. The channel in which the water proceeds was directed (probably by the Romans) into the city, and runs through the valley of the Circus into the Tiber. It is now

called *La Marrana*; but the part of it before the point where it is turned off to Rome, was the Fossa Cluilia, or Cluilian Ditch, along which the Albans were said to have encamped when they marched against the city in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, and which was reported to have taken its name from the Alban king Cluilius who died there.\* But it is probable that Cluilius was the name of the prince under whom the work was constructed, and that he has been wrongfully introduced into the tradition of a war in which Mettius Fufetius alone ought to have appeared.†

On the summit of the Alban Mount stood the temple of Jupiter Latiaris,‡ the great sanctuary of the Alban people, and the common place of meeting for the Latin towns, which were leagued under their supremacy. The story that this temple was first founded, and the common festival of Latium (the Latiar, or Feriæ Latinæ) first instituted, by Tarquinius Superbus, when the Latin confederacy acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome,§ is beyond doubt an invention of Roman pride. The temple of Jupiter Latiaris, which from its lofty site looked down upon the city, as the city looked down upon the plains below, was the Capitol of Alba in its days of independence and imperial power. Hither the victorious chiefs of Alba led up their triumphs; triumphs which in after ages were imitated by Roman generals, leaders of the combined armies of Rome and Latium, to whom the Roman Senate denied the like honor in their native city.|| Here the confederate Latins held their solemn assembly. The rustic cantons brought their offerings of lambs or cheeses or milk or cakes; and the imperial city sacrificed a bull on behalf of the whole league, and distributed to all the allied states their portions of the sacred flesh. The temples of Alba were left standing, when all its profane buildings went to the ground: and the Roman King, at the head of a new confederacy of the Latins and Hernicans, distributed to forty-

\* Liv. v. 15, 16, 19. Cic. de Div. i. 44.

† Niebuhr, in the first edition of his history, referred the tunnel to an early age, vol. ii. ch. x.; but in the more recent form of his work he assents to the date assigned by the Roman Annals. He conceives that at that time earthquakes had stopped the subterranean outlets which before served as a natural emissarius, and rendered an artificial drain necessary. The emissarius, or tunnel, is six thousand feet long, six feet high, and three feet and a half broad; and it is broken through a hard volcanic stone. See Nieb. v. ii. pp. 477, 504, 505. The hewing of tunnels through rock probably preceded and gave the hint for the construction of great sewers, such as are ascribed to Tarquin.

\* See p. 14.

† This account and conjecture are borrowed from Niebuhr, v. i. p. 201; and p. 342, n. 870.

‡ Cic. pro Mil. 31. Dion. iv. 49.

§ See p. 24.

|| See Liv. xxvi. 21. "Pridie quam urbem iniret, in monte Albano triumphavit." C. Papirius Maso is said to have been the first Roman general who triumphed on the Alban Mount. Plin. xv. 33. (29.) By this we are probably to understand that he was the first who thus triumphed in despite of the senate after the subjection of Latium, A.U.C. 522.

seven cities the victim which the Alban Dictators had divided among the deputies of sixty towns, the thirty states of the old Pelasgian Latins, and thirty communities which derived their origin from Alba.

Our knowledge of this latter body we derive from Pliny.\* After enumerating more than twenty Latin towns, of which in his age there were no remains, he subjoins a list of the Albensian communities (populi Albenses), at the head of which he places the Albans themselves, and then thirty others whose names are arranged in alphabetical order. All these, he says, had been accustomed to receive their portion of the sacred flesh on the Alban mount with the Latins, and, like the Latin towns, had become extinct. It can scarcely be doubted that these were the thirty colonies which were said to have sprung from Alba, and not the thirty Latin cities, as Livy and Dionysius and other writers have falsely repeated the tradition;† and they must be regarded, like Alba, as settlements of the Cascan or Sacranian conquerors. It is worthy of remark that of these Albensian communities, six, and only six, appear in the list of the thirty Latin States included in the league of Spurius Cassius,‡ A.U.C. 261.

Our history of the internal changes of the Latin Federation must be pieced by conjecture: but some points are so distinctly marked, and the whole presents itself in so consistent a shape, that our conjectures assume a strong character of probability. We will not anticipate our remarks on the history of the Roman Kings by speculating on the true causes of the destruction of Alba; but we may say, that it appears that after the downfall of the sovereign city the remains of the Pelasgian Latins recovered their independence, and constituted a new league which comprehended only thirty cities. These are the Latins, who were called, and who called themselves, the Ancient Latins (Prisci Latini); § apparently, from a feeling of national

pride, to distinguish themselves from the more recent Latins of Alba, who had mixed themselves with them and usurped their national name. They waged wars with Ancus Marcius, and with the elder Tarquinius, in which they lost several of their towns, and a large portion of their population became subject to Rome.\* They made a league with the Romans, under Servius Tullius, when the Temple of Diana on the Aventine was built, as the common place of meeting for the two nations.† Under the strong dominion of the second Tarquin, they were forced to submit to the supremacy of Rome, as they before submitted to the supremacy of Alba. Upon the expulsion of the king, this connexion was dissolved. The Latins took the part of the Tarquins, and the struggle began, which in the poetical legend ends with the grand battle at the lake Regillus. At length in the seventeenth year of the Republic, in the Consulship of Spurius Cassius, the league between the two nations was renewed upon terms of equal alliance.

We have stated the conjecture that this Latin State was composed chiefly of

and note 914, and also p. 73. It is surprising that a writer of his discernment should take up such an opinion in the face of the manifest etymology which connects *priscus* with *πρῶν*, *prior*, *primus*, *princeps*, *pristinus*, *præ*, *πρὸ*, &c. Moreover, the word in its later use has not exactly the meaning which Niebuhr assigns to it, but has something comparative in its signification, and means *earlier*. Thus, not to use the disputed examples in which the epithet was applied to Tarquinius and Cato, Virgil calls the people of Cures *prisci Quirites*, Æn. vii. 710. The Prisci Latini then were the Ancient Latins; but the question remains, from whom they were thus distinguished: evidently not from the Latin colonies, as seems to be the vulgar opinion. The term is so constantly used by all writers, that it is certain that they must have found it commonly employed in the Annals, and these again must have taken it from old records, and from the language of tradition. If it had been merely a distinctive appellation, introduced for the sake of exactness by some writer of a later age, after the Latin colonies were founded, it could never have become an universal adjunct to the Latin name. In the formulæ of the Fœtal for declaring war, which Livy has introduced under the reign of Ancus, war is declared against the Prisci Latini; and this expression is repeated in solemn ceremonial language no less than six times, (Liv. i. 32.) This formula may not be so old as Ancus; but Livy must have taken it from the pontifical books of an age long before Latin colonies were thought of. (Nieb. p. 371.) To suppose that he inserted the phrase himself is to suppose him guilty of as great an absurdity as if an English historian were to give the form of a declaration of war by the Saxons against "the Ancient Britons." But if the customary epithet was derived from the language of early ages, and was really a part of a national name used by the Latins themselves, or at least applied to them by the contemporary Romans, the explanation given in the text seems the only probable account of the matter.

\* pp. 17, 18.

† p. 22.

\* Plin. N. H. iii. 5 (9). See Nieb. vol. i. p. 199, and note 570.

† See above p. 111.

‡ Dion. v. 61, with the emendations of Niebuhr, vol. ii. note 21.

§ Niebuhr conceived the notion that *Prisci* was properly a national name of the Opican conquerors of the Pelasgian Latins: in his own words, "*Priscus* was certainly the name of a people, just like *Casculus* (See above p. 110); and after the very same manner did it grow to mean, *primitive*, and *old-fashioned*: the Prisci Latini were the Prisci *et* Latini" (according to the old Roman idiom, by which *juxta*-position was equivalent to conjunction). See vol. i. p. 371



the remains of the Pelasgian Latins, who recovered their independence after the fall of Alba. But it must not be supposed that they emerged pure and unmixed. The genuine Tyrsenian race had suffered a large alloy; and the Alban townships still existed among them, though the relation of the two nations was changed. The confederacy of the Ancient Latins is always considered as including thirty cities; but these thirty cities were not always the same. In the federal states of antiquity, which consisted of a definite number of parts, the number was in general religiously preserved; and new members were admitted to supply the place of those which perished by internal decay, or were detached by external violence.\* Thus it is probable that some at least among the Latin towns taken by Ancus Marcius and the elder Tarquinius, such as Medullia, Politorium, Apiolæ,† were of the number of the thirty; and if they remained in the power of the Romans, their place was filled up by others, Corniculum, Nomentum, and Tellena, which are claimed as Roman conquests, re-appear in the rank of independent Latin towns, after the commencement of the Republic, as members of the league of Spurius Cassius. But in the same list,‡ we find six of the Alban communities enumerated by Pliny; and these may be supposed to have come into the room of cities which had been lost in war. The number of thirty towns was maintained, but it was not exceeded. When Tarquinius is said to have distributed the flesh of the bull to forty-seven cities, we must understand Rome, the thirty cities of the Latins, and sixteen towns of the Hernicans.§

The Latin towns had their senates; each, probably, of a hundred men. Their chief magistrate was entitled Dictator. We read of this magistracy at Alba|| and at Tusculum;¶ and in very late times it was still preserved at Lanuvium.\*\* Deputies from the senates of all the cities attended the general meetings of the

confederacy: Niebuhr conjectures, the ten first from each senate.\* This council of the chiefs or leading men was accompanied by a popular assembly,† which served as a representation of the whole league, and stood in the same relation to the council of the confederacy as the people of each town to its own senate. It seems that, occasionally at least, the Dictator of one of the cities was appointed Dictator of the whole nation.‡ In the instance mentioned by Cato, the object of the appointment was the dedication of a grove to Diana; and it is probable that such a dictator was elected to perform the religious ceremonies of the Latin Festival, to sacrifice the bull, and distribute the portions of the sacred flesh. The nation elected likewise a general to command their common army. The great yearly festival of the nation, the Latiar, continued after the destruction of Alba to be held at the Temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the summit of the Alban Mount; but the meetings for political business assembled at the grove and fountain of Ferentina at the bottom of the hill, and on the opposite side of the Alban Lake.§

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *Commentary on the Traditional History related in the First Chapter, to the reign of the first Tarquinius.*

§ 1. On the site of Rome, and the features of the adjacent country. § 2. The legend of Æneas. § 3. Romulus. § 4. Rome a Pelasgian or Sicilian town. § 5. On the Palatine Hill. § 6. The Quirinal and Capitoline Hills the seat of a Sabine town—Rape of the Sabines—Tatius—Roman Tribes—Ramnes—Titenses. § 7. The third tribe, Luceres. § 8. Numa. § 9. Tullus Hostilius. Destruction of Alba. § 10. Ancus Marcius—Wars with the Latins. § 11. On the primitive constitution of Rome—Tribes; Curiae; Gentes; Senate; Patrons; Clients; Patricians; Plebeians.

§ 1. THE physical configuration of the country about Rome may be easily comprehended: and even the picturesque features of the scenes of the early Roman traditions are so strongly marked, that those who have never visited them may conceive a lively idea of them. Rome stands upon the left bank of the Tiber, about seventeen miles from the sea. The Tiber, which is the common channel of the streams which rise on the western side of the Apennines in the middle portion of Italy, approaches

\* See the observations on the twelve Etruscan cities, pp. 88, 89. Thus Herodotus and Polybius give lists of the twelve cities of the Achæans; and in the latter, Leontium and Cerynea appear in the place of Ægæ and Rhyes, which stand in the former. Nieb. v. ii, pp. 20, 21. Compare the lists of the Amphictyonic nations, given by Æschines (De Fal. Leg.) and by Harpocration from Theopompus.

† pp. 17, 18.

‡ Dion. v. 61, in Nieb. vol. ii. note 21.

§ Nieb. vol. ii. p. 85.

|| Liv. i. 23; Licinius Macer in Dion. v. 74.

¶ Cato, Frag.

\*\* Milo was Dictator of Lanuvium. Cic. pro Mil.

\* Like the Decem Primi at Rome. See p. 8.

† *Latinorum concilium*, distinct from the *principes*; Liv. i. 51.

‡ See Cato in Priscian, iv. 4.

§ For an acute and profound investigation of the constitution of the Latin State, see Nieb. v. ii, pp. 16, 36.

Rome in a course of which the general direction is from north to south. A little above Rome it is joined by the Anio (Teverone), flowing towards the west; and thence the current of the united rivers runs in a south-west direction to the sea. In this part of Italy, on the western side of the main ridge of the Apennines, are several parallel ridges, which decrease in height as they approach the coast. The Anio rises between two of these lower ridges, and flows at first from the south-east to the north-west. The outer ridge of its valley is the mountain country of the Hernici. The Anio turns the extremity of this ridge; and the direction of its current is there determined by a line of hills on its opposite bank, which jut out from the Apennines towards the south-west and west. These hills are the Mount Lucretilis; and the abutment of them at the angle between the Anio and the Tiber is the celebrated Sacred Mount, where the bloodless victories of the Plebeians were gained. Lying out at a little distance from the Sacred Mount, yet apparently a continuation of the same chain of rising ground, the last steps before it subsides into the level which stretches towards the sea, is a small cluster of hills, south of the Anio, and close upon the eastern bank of the Tiber. Upon these hills Rome was built. Four of these, the Capitoline, Palatine, Cælius, and Aventine, are insulated heights, divided from one another by little valleys, in which the springs made swamps and pools, and which were frequently flooded by the river. The other three, the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline, are promontories which jut out towards the Tiber from one long range, and are separated from each other only by narrow glens running up into it. This common range, which in many points ends very abruptly on the side of the river, sinks by a gentle slope into the plain which stretches to the foot of the lower Apennines. The sides of the hills were steep, and even precipitous. Two of the smallest hills, the Capitoline and the Palatine, presented the boldest outlines. They stood close to the edge of the river. Their rocky sides and elevated summits made them places of strength; and the former especially was so precipitous, that it was a natural fortress, and became the citadel of Rome.

Parallel to the Anio, in a valley on the western side of the Hernican ridge, the river Trerus (Sacco) flows in the

opposite direction from the north-west to the south-east, till it falls into the Liris (Garigliano). Another parallel ridge of hills, the outer barrier of the valley of the Trerus, is the last and lowest terrace of the Apennines. It runs, like the other ridges and the principal chain, in a south-east direction, till at last it turns towards the south, and sweeps round and abuts upon the sea at Terracina.

When this range is viewed from the hills of Rome, it seems like a gigantic mound enclosing the plain from which it rises abruptly. It is not unlike the line of the Grampians as they are seen from Stirling Castle. Between this mountain range and the sea is spread out the low country of Latium, or the Campagna of Rome: a low country, indeed, compared with the lofty terrace which looks down upon it; but rising in long grassy swells and flat ridges, which terminate not unfrequently in rocky and precipitous declivities, like the three Roman hills described above. Upon these natural fastnesses were built the citadels of the many little towns of Latium. The face of the Campagna is intersected also by many small and sluggish streams, winding along in deep channels under steep and broken banks, beautifully fringed with copsewood and broom. But in the midst of the lowlands, in the northern quarter of Latium, there stands out at a little distance from the mountain range a sort of island cluster of hills; a mass of high ground, beautifully varied within itself with deep valleys and pointed summits, and steep ridges overhanging its sequestered tarns. These are the hills of Alba. Upon the highest peak of the group, looking down upon all the expanse of Latium, stood the temple of Jupiter Latiaris. Immediately below, and scarcely finding space to stand on from the steepness of the mountain side, the long town of Alba in old time stretched itself as on a terrace, with the waters of the Alban lake beneath it. The basin of the lake is the crater of an extinct volcano. Farther to the north, the Romans could descry from their walls a ridge running under the highest summit of the Alban Mount, and seeming like a raised way between it and the more distant points of the Alban hills. This ridge was the edge of a green mountain plain; and this high plain was Algidus, where the Æqui, in the height of their power, used to pitch their camp in the summer months, and whence they commanded a



view of all the Roman lowlands to which their descents were to be directed for plunder and ravage. Beneath the ridge of Algidus, on the top of the lower and nearer line of the Alban hills, stood the citadel of Tusculum, the stronghold of the most faithful allies of the banished Tarquin, and subsequently of the youthful republic. Farther to the north-east, on the last low insulated point of the ridge, the Romans might behold the towers of Labicum. Beneath Tusculum and Labicum lay the lake Regillus, which poetical tradition made the scene of the last and deadly struggle with the exiled tyrant. Still farther to the north and east is the mountain range which directs the course of the Anio, with the towns of Tibur and Præneste crowning its nearest projecting eminences; while, far beyond, the eye glances to the lofty summits of the main ridge of the Apennines, which, during more than six months of the year, are white with snow. On the opposite side towards the sea, the level of the Campagna is broken by no perceptible elevation; and the low straight line of the distant coast melts into the scarcely more level surface of the Mediterranean, which can be distinguished from the land only by the brighter light reflected from its waters. If we look from the Capitol to the Tuscan side of the Tiber, the view is immediately bounded by the level line of the long hill of the Janiculus. Where this slope skirts the Tiber to the northward, it took the name of Vaticanus; then receding from the river, it winds round towards it again with a greater elevation and a bolder outline, till, under the name of the Mons Marius, it once more looks down upon the stream, where it is crossed by the Milvian Bridge on the Flaminian Way.

Such is the site of Rome, and such is the country which surrounds it,—the narrow field of its early struggles and conquests. The great features of nature must have existed in the earliest ages as we see them now; and the imagination can easily put aside all that the hand of art has added or altered. We can set before our eyes a cluster of seven unfrequented hills rising from their swampy valleys, covered with thickets, and marked by no habitation but the huts of solitary herdmen and the folds of cattle. We can behold the little town clustering about the steepest of them; the fort of unhewn stone on the top of the broken rock; the wall and trench around the

foot of it, where the approach of the plunderer was easiest. But it is vain to wish that we could recall as vividly the real deeds and fortunes of the new people. When we examine the traditions which have come down to us, we find that the true story has vanished for ever. We can scatter the phantoms which present themselves in its place; but we cannot set before us in living truth the events of the first age of Rome.

§ 2: In beginning our examination, we must notice first the legend of Æneas, and the belief which made Rome to rise from the ashes of Troy. This legend is of the same class with other stories, which carried the heroes of the Trojan war to the shores of Italy, and has no stronger claims to our faith. Thus Antenor was said to have been the founder of Patavium, and the settler of the Veneti.\* Philoctetes was carried to Cœnотria; Diomedes to Daunia; Idomeneus to Iapygia;† and many like fables were told in their own places. The power and celebrity of Rome attracted peculiar attention to the story of its remote origin, and made the tradition widely known; but it did not make the evidence for it stronger than for local legends of less renown. We are tempted at first to acquiesce in the tale, as if it were transmitted to us by the universal consent of ancient writers, because the popular historians and poets of Rome, whom we read in our childhood, finally adopted it; but if we look deeper into antiquity, we find contradictory traditions respecting the origin of Rome in sufficient abundance to warrant the most impartial scepticism.‡ The office of the critical historian in such a case is to ascertain, as well as he can, the time and place of the origin of the vulgar belief; and to point out the accidental circumstances which suggested it or gave a colour to it.

There can be little doubt that the legend was the offspring of Greek invention. It was connected with the heroic tales of Greece; and it is little likely that the Romans should have engrafted a story upon them which the Greeks themselves had never thought of, and that the Greeks should then have taken up the foreign fable. The story could scarcely have been home-born, unless it had been true. Moreover, the Greek authorities for the legend are earlier than

\* Ch. iii. § 3. p. 67.

† pp. 80, 106, &c

‡ See Nieb. vol. i. pp. 205-217.

the earliest known traces of its existence among the Romans. Towards the close of the fifth century of Rome, Callias, the historian of Agathocles, related that Rome was built by Romus and Romulus, the sons of a Trojan woman Roma, who came to Italy with the other Trojans, and married Latinus, king of the Aborigines. In this version of the story Æneas is not named.\* At a time a little earlier, Apollodorus of Gela spoke of Romus, the son of Æneas and Lavinia.† Another version of the story is reported by Dionysius: that Æneas, after reaching the country of the Molossi, crossed over into Italy in company with Ulysses, and became the founder of Rome; and that he gave it its name from a Trojan woman Roma, who, through weariness of their wanderings, persuaded the other women to set fire to the ships. This account he gives upon the authority of the chronologer, who drew up the list of the Argive Priestesses of Juno, with a summary of the events which happened in the time of each; and also of Damastes of Sigæum.‡ But the Chronology of the Priestesses must, from its very nature, have been a very ancient work; and by other authority it is expressly ascribed to the historian Hellanicus:§ and Damastes of Sigæum is said by Suidas to have been a disciple of Hellanicus, and contemporary with Herodotus.|| We have thus traced back the Trojan legend among Grecian writers, to a date as early as the end of the third century of Rome. But the form in which we have last given it, in which the names of Æneas and Ulysses both appear, is manifestly an attempt to unite two discordant legends, each of which must have existed in its simple shape at a still earlier period.

\* Dion. i. 72.

† Fest. v. Romam, in Nieb. vol. i. p. 181. The testimony of Cephalon the Gergithian, cited by Dionysius (i. 49 and 72), is not advanced here; because it is positively affirmed by Athenæus (vi. p. 393, D.) that the Troica of Cephalon were the forgery of an Alexandrian writer, Hegesianax. The mention of the two names Romulus and Romus in this story is suspicious; inasmuch as it betokens too familiar a knowledge of the national Roman traditions. The genuine evidence of Cephalon would have been curious, as he was probably of Teucirian origin (Herod. v. 122; vii. 43; and Strabo, xiii. 1).

‡ Dion. i. 72.

§ Repeatedly by Steph. Byz. See Mus. Crit. vol. ii. pp. 102, 104. For date and character of Hellanicus, see above, note, p. 72.

|| Damastes, from the few citations which remain to us, appears to have been a diligent copier of Hellanicus; so that the consent of the latter might almost be assumed from the assertion of the former.

The earliest intimation which we find of a national belief in the Trojan legend, is the statement preserved by Dionysius, from the Sicilian historian Timæus, who wrote towards the end of the fifth century of Rome. Timæus stated that he heard from the inhabitants of Lavinium, that Trojan figures of clay were preserved in their shrines.\* At a little later period, in the beginning of the sixth century, the national belief was avowed in the most solemn manner. The Roman Senate interposed with the Ætolians on behalf of the Acarnanians, on the plea that the ancestors of the Acarnanians were the only Greeks who had taken no part in the war against their ancestors the Trojans.† Nearly at the same time the senate demanded from Seleucus, king of Syria, that the Ilians, as kinsmen of the Romans, should be exempted from tribute.‡ The affinity was repeatedly acknowledged by public acts in later times: and the first Roman generals who crossed the Hellespont offered sacrifices on the Pergamus, the site of the citadel of Troy.§ These facts show that the legend was adopted by Rome, before the literature of Greece was commonly known to the Romans; but they are not at all sufficient to prove that the belief was home-born, especially when we can trace the story among Greek writers to a much earlier date.

With regard to the origin and growth of the legend, we may observe in the first place, that the prophecy of Neptune in the Iliad, that Æneas and his children's children should reign over the Trojans,|| may be considered as historical evidence, that, after the overthrow of Troy and of the house of Priam, Æneas and his family became the chiefs of the broken people. It was believed that they quitted the ruined city in the plain, and retreated to the hilly region of Ida, which was the peculiar apanage of the Dardan prince. Such a tradition was preserved in the town of Scepsis;¶ and the inhabitants of that town affirmed that it was the royal seat of the descendants of Æneas. The Greek settlements in these

\* Dion. i. 67.

† Justin, xxviii. 1. See Nieb. vol. i. p. 185.

‡ Suet. Claud. c. 25. Nieb. vol. i. p. 186.

§ Liv. xxxvii. 37.

¶ Il. xx. 307.

¶ Strabo, xiii. 1. vol. iii, p. 122, ed. Tauch. That the Gergithians in Mount Ida were a remnant of the ancient Teucrians we know from the testimony of Herodotus cited above. Müller (Hist. Dor. B. ii. ch. 2, § 4.) has cited Xen. Hellen. iii. 1. 10 and 15. as a proof that Dardan princes reigned at Gergis and at Scepsis even after the Peloponnesian war.



regions appear to have begun very soon after the Trojan war; and the native tribes dwindled away before their gradual encroachments. When the relics of the ancient race became few and scattered, it was not unnatural that they should disguise their fallen state by tales of the emigration of their people and princes. The Greek colonists, on the other hand, would present the history of the acquisition of their dominion in its most poetical shape. They would not describe it as a gradual process; but would suppose it to be effected at once by the conquest of Agamemnon, and attended with the expulsion and dispersion of the old inhabitants. It was thus probably that the first tales were invented, which related the settlement of the Trojan chief in a foreign land. From the similarity of name, *Æneia*, on the gulf of Therme, was supposed to have been founded by him; but the licence of fiction soon carried him farther. The west was the unknown region of the Greeks, and from the days of the *Odyssey* was the scene of the wanderings of heroes and their marvellous adventures. Towards this quarter the curiosity and enterprise of the nation had been directed in the period which lies between its poetical and historical age, the period of the foundation of the Sicilian and Italian colonies. To the west, therefore, the course of *Æneas* was supposed to have been turned: and *Stesichorus*, who lived in the latter part of the second century of Rome, told in song, how *Æneas* saved his father and the gods of his country, and sailed with his followers to *Hesperia*, or the west, without any more exact indication of his final resting place.\*

There were other legends of Trojan settlements in the west, which were not connected with *Æneas* or with Rome. When the Ionians of *Colophon* fled from the arms of the *Lydian Kings*, and settled at *Polieum* on the banks of the *Siris*,† the old inhabitants, whom they massacred and dislodged, were reported to be descendants of the Trojans, and to be still in possession of the *Palladium*, or the sacred image of *Pallas* the guardian goddess of *Troy*.‡ *Thucydides* expresses the opinion that the *Elymi* in *Sicily* were partly of the Trojan stock.§

Now to some these stories may seem not incredible; and it may be thought that a migration to the *Sirtis* was as possible to the Trojans as to the *Colophonians*. If the story were true, the actual presence of Trojans in any part of Italy would be a great step in explaining a similar legend told of another place in the same country. But even if it be false, it gives us a clue to the origin of the Roman tale. Among the deities of Greece, the worship of which belonged to the older races more peculiarly than to the Hellenic tribes, was the goddess *Pallas* or *Athene*. She was worshipped in the *Larissa* of *Argos*, and from time immemorial she was the divine inhabitant of the citadel of the *Craan* *Pelasgians* of *Athens*. In the *Iliad* she appears as the tutelary deity of the *Pergamus* of *Troy*; and legends were current at a very early time, of a peculiar sanctity and a protecting power which resided in the statue of the goddess. Such a notion is manifestly implied in the story of the substitution of a false for the true *palladium*, and the consequent disappointment of the Greek plunderers, who sought to carry off the divine image, which is cited by *Dionysius* from *Arctinus* of *Miletus*; one of the *Cyclic* poets, pronounced by *Niebuhr* to be contemporary with the foundation of Rome.\* Now the Greeks in Italy found a goddess, an object of Italian worship, whom, without hesitation, they identified with *Pallas*. It is probable that the Italian tribes of *Pelasgian* origin really preserved the worship of the same deity as their kindred tribes in Greece. A similar goddess, under the name of *Minerva*, was worshipped by the *Etruscans* in conjunction with *Jupiter* and *Juno*: and at Rome the triple temple of the capitol was dedicated by *Tarquinius* to these three divinities.† In Italy, as well as Greece, the notion prevailed of a peculiar mystery and sanctity attached to the statue of the goddess. At Rome a *palladium* was preserved in the temple of *Vesta*, which was to be seen only by the *Vestal Virgins*.‡ Now when once the belief had gone abroad among the Greeks that the relics of the fugitive Trojans were to be found in Italy, a credulous superstition

\* Nieb. vol. i. pp. 179, 180.

† If in the time of *Gyges* (*Herod.* i. 14), as early as B.C. 673, A.U.C. 75.

‡ *Strabo*, vi. l. 14.

§ *Thuc.* vi. 2. see p. 81.

\* *Dion.* i. 69. Nieb. vol. i. p. 178. The theft of the *palladium* was narrated also by the *Cyclic* poet *Lesches*, who flourished about the end of the first century of Rome.

† See p. 24.

‡ *Dion.* i. 69; *Ov. Fast.* vi. 619, &c.

or a poetical imagination might easily persuade itself, that any one of these holy statues was the secreted palladium of Troy. Such a story was told of the image of the goddess at Siris, at Luceria, at Lavinium, at Rome;\* and the origin of the fable was probably the same in every case.† Of course the recognition of the sacred image would carry with it the belief that the people who possessed it were of Trojan race.

But, with regard to Rome, there were circumstances which, if the notion of a Trojan origin once suggested itself, would tend, in an especial manner, to give it form and consistency. The first Greeks who became acquainted with Rome, manifestly must have been the Cumæans in Campania. Not only was Cumæ the Greek city nearest to Rome: but we have positive historical evidence of the intercourse between the two states, in the fact that the banished Tarquinius took refuge at Cumæ with the tyrant Aristodemus, and there died. In the reign of the last Tarquinius, Rome was the capital of a large and powerful state, and her dominion extended to Circeii and Terracina, almost to the borders of Campania: Cumæ, on the other hand, was in the height of her prosperity, with her Grecian character unimpaired by the admixture of Oscan blood. This then was the first point of contact between the Romans and a people of Grecian race. It can scarcely be doubted that the Sibylline oracles, which were manifestly Greek,‡ were brought to Tarquinius from Cumæ: for the Cumæan Sibyl was famous in old time. No doubt, their ultimate origin, as that of Cumæ itself, is to be sought in Asia: but we must not infer that they were brought immediately from Asia to Rome, merely because, in after ages, when the oracles had been destroyed by the conflagration of the capitol in the civil war of Sylla, at a time when the Greek character of Cumæ was utterly lost, a mis-

sion was sent to Erythræ to collect the verses of the Erythrean Sibyl. Now the Cumæans were probably familiar with all the legends which related to Troy: for Cumæ derived its name and a part of its population from Cuma in Æolis.\* But the Æolian Cuma was not only situated near the Troad; but it comprehended among its subject towns Gergithians, who were connected with the Teucrian Gergithians of Ida.† If therefore the Cumæans of Italy bore in mind any tradition of the emigration of Æneas, and, it may be, some national prophecy of the renewed greatness of his family and people, with which the remnant of the Trojans sought to console themselves in their decay; and if, on the other hand, the mysterious reverence with which the palladium of Rome was regarded, reminded them of the Trojan worship and the Trojan legend; they might easily take up the notion, and communicate it to the other Greeks, that this hitherto unknown city on the Tiber was the offspring of the ancient Ilium; and that its founder was the Trojan chief who had survived the downfall of his country. The Romans, in the most flourishing period of their monarchy, when they were fast outgrowing the memory of their primitive insignificance, might readily take up the tale which assigned them an heroic origin, and combine it, as we find that they did, with their national traditions. Possibly the fable had been introduced by the Greek soothsayers into the Sibylline verses, and thus acquired a religious sanction.‡

This hypothesis of the origin of the story receives some confirmation from a consideration of dates. In the time of the last Tarquinius, the voyage of Æneas to the west was already a popular poetical tale, as we know in the example of Stesichorus: and Siris and its palladium had been some time destroyed, so that their pretensions could not be opposed by any incredulous Greek to those of the Roman image. Moreover, the earliest Grecian writer, whom we find to have ascribed the foundation of Rome to Æneas, was Hellanicus, who lived in the second generation after Tarquin.

It has been observed above, that the story of Hellanicus, that is, of the chro-

\* Strabo, vi. l. 14. There was a legend both at Athens and at Argos that their palladium was the Trojan palladium. Pausan. i. 28. ii. 23.

† Niebuhr observes, "that there is a very great probability, that, so long as the palladium was believed to be preserved at Siris, that is, until the taking of the town by the Ionians about the year 75, nothing was either said or sung among the Greeks touching a more distant migration of those who had escaped from the flames of Ilium. But irreplaceable sacred treasures, such as the palladium, if they are lost, are generally given out to have returned to light somewhere else; and then it often happens that several are set up as the true one."—Vol. i. p. 184.

‡ See Nieb. vol. i. p. 497.

\* Strabo, v. 4.

† Strabo, xii. l. 1.

‡ On the connexion of Cumæ and the Sibylline oracles with the story of Æneas, see Müller's Dorians, b. ii. ch. 2. § 4.



nologer of the Argive priestesses, in which Æneas is described as arriving in Latium in company with Ulysses, is a combination of two separate legends, one of which ascribed to Rome a Trojan origin, the other made it a Greek city. It is worth while to suspend our remarks on the fable of Æneas, in order to take brief notice of the latter story. This and other tales, in which Ulysses himself, and his sons Telemachus and Telegonus, are made the founders of cities in Latium, are merely variations of the heroic genealogy of Hesiod, which has been already repeatedly mentioned, that Latinus, the ruler of the renowned Tyrsenians, was the son of Ulysses and Circe. The story was kept alive by the name of the promontory Circeii, which was made the residence of the goddess Circe. This fable in its first shape is much older than the Trojan legend, and relates not to the city of Rome, but to the country of Latium; though afterwards it was forced into connexion with Rome.\* The incident in the chronicle of the Argive priestesses, of the women burning the ships, appears in a narrative cited by Dionysius from Aristotle.† The philosopher related that certain Achæans sailing home from Troy were driven into the Tyrrhene Sea, to that part of Opica which is called Latium; that there they landed and wintered; and that they were compelled to settle in the country by the captive Trojan women who set fire to the ships by night. This story was evidently meant to account for the affinity between the Latins and Greeks; but whether Rome was specially mentioned in it does not appear from Dionysius.

To return to the legend of Æneas: the oldest form of the story, as we have seen, makes the hero himself the founder of Rome; and, no doubt, this was the shape in which the fable was first conceived by the Greeks. But the native Roman traditions spoke of twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, as the founders of their city. The ingenuity therefore of the collectors of such tales combined the two accounts, by making the brothers, Romulus and Remus, the sons or the grandsons of Æneas.‡ When the fea-

tures of the native tradition were more distinctly known, and it was found that the brothers were described as the sons of a Latin princess and of the god Mars, the foreign story was accommodated to it, and their mother was made the daughter of Æneas.\* This was the form of the tale adopted by the poets Nævius and Ennius. But when historians came to compare the received chronologies of Greece and Rome, it was found that the Trojan war preceded the foundation of the city by several centuries.† Nevertheless, the legend, which was now a portion of the popular faith, was not rejected on account of this discrepancy, but it was modified so as to make it historically possible. Æneas and his immediate offspring were represented as the founders, not of Rome, but of Lavinium and Alba, the cities from which the native histories described Rome as springing: and the ill-fated mother of Romulus and Remus was made a remote descendant of the Trojan prince. This was the shape into which the popular story at last settled, and thus we have related it in the first chapter of this history.

There was one circumstance, which assuredly, in the eyes of the Greek chroniclers, appeared a confirmation of the story of the settlement of Æneas in Latium, and which, when the legend began to assume its final shape, caused him to be considered as the founder of Lavinium. The common temple of the Latins at Lavinium was, as we have seen, a temple of Venus,‡ the goddess whom the Greeks identified with their Aphrodite. But Aphrodite was the mother of Æneas; and the foundation of the temple was no doubt ascribed to his filial piety.§ Dionysius, in his detail of the voyage of Æneas, describes him as building a temple to Aphrodite at every place at which he touches;|| so that it becomes evident that, in fact, the course of the wandering hero was laid down by observing the temples of the goddess on the coasts and islands, and making him touch at every one. Now the temples of Aphrodite were commonly found in maritime situations; because this goddess was the Ashtoreth of the Phœnicians, and her worship was diffused by

\* See Xenagoras in Dion. i. 72, cited above, p. 79, col. 2, note †; and Plut. Romul.

† Dion. i. 72.

‡ See above, p. 74; Dion. i. 72, 73; Plut. Rom. The Greeks not perceiving that Romulus with its Latin termination bore the relation to the name Roma, which the names of the founders in such stories usually bore to the names of the cities, turned Remus into Romulus.

\* "Others say that Æmilia, the daughter of Æneas and Lavinia, had him (Romulus) by Mars." Plut. Rom.

† Troy taken B.C. 1183; Rome founded, B.C. 752.

‡ Strabo, cited p. 112.

§ See Solin. c. 2.

|| Dion. i. 50—53.

them at the time when their sailors and merchants frequented the Grecian seas. This origin is expressly ascribed by Herodotus to the temple of Aphrodite in Cythera,\* which, according to Dionysius, was a monument of the piety of Æneas. There can be no doubt that the temple of the goddess on Mount Eryx in Sicily, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Phœnician cities, was originally a Phœnician work; and little doubt that this temple and worship was the cause that Æneas was made to touch at Sicily before he reached Latium.

Among the circumstances which facilitated the combination of the native and the foreign legend of the foundation of Rome, we may notice the readiness with which the name of the Latin princess, Silvia, passed into the Greek form Ilia, which was supposed to bear a reference to her Trojan origin.

The fable of Æneas has occupied a large share of our attention. If we had been seeking only for historical truth, it might have been passed over in silence: but it is not out of the province of an historian to examine the origin of the popular belief of a nation with regard to its own affinity and descent, however false that belief may be. The history of Lavinium and Alba, so far as it can be conjectured when it is detached from the Trojan legend, has been discussed in the preceding chapter. We proceed now with our commentary upon the Roman traditions.

§ 3. The whole story of Romulus, from the violation of his vestal mother by Mars, till the end of his life, when he is borne away in clouds and darkness by his divine parent, is essentially poetical. In this, as in other cases, the poetical and imaginative form of the tradition, in which we have related it, is also the most ancient and genuine: and the variations, by which it is reduced into something physically possible, are the falsifications of later writers, who could not understand that, in popular legends, the marvellous circumstances are not the only parts which are not historically true, and that, by the substitution of common-place incidents, they were spoiling a good poem without making a good history.

Romulus, the founder of Rome, is merely the Roman people personified as an individual. It was the fashion of ancient tradition to represent races and

nations as sprung from an ancestor, or composed of the followers of a leader, whose name they continued to bear; while in reality the name of the fictitious chief was derived from the name of the people: and the transactions of the nation were not unfrequently described as the exploits of the single hero. Thus, in Greece, the Æolians and Dorians were described as the descendants of Æolus and Dorus; the Achæans and Ionians of Achæus and Ion: and to represent the affinity between these tribes, in consequence of which they were comprehended under the common national name of Hellenes, their ancestors were made the offspring of a great common ancestor Hellen; Æolus and Dorus his sons, Achæus and Ion his grandsons. The settlement of the Ionians, as a conquering people in Attica and on the northern coast of Peloponnesus, was told as the arrival of Ion as an auxiliary in war to the native kings. The Cadmeans, the Phœnician people in Bœotia, were personified in their founder Cadmus; and to Cadmus was ascribed the settlement of Phœnician colonies in several Grecian islands.\* Herodotus informs us, that, when the Cadmeans were expelled from Thebes by the Argives, they migrated among the Enchelees: the poetical fable ascribes this migration to Cadmus and his wife Harmonia.† To add one more example, we are told in the language of the old traditions, that Lacedæmon was the son of Jupiter and the nymph Taygete, and that Sparte was his wife.‡ As nations were traced to mythic ancestors, so cities were ascribed to mythic founders: and stories of this sort sprung up, and were received with a sort of conventional faith, and sometimes sanctioned by religious observances, even in the case of colonies of which the origin and foundation were distinctly known. Thus the foundation of Byzantium was ascribed to a hero Byzas;§ the Doric colony, Ambracia, was connected with a king Ambrax, the grandson of Hercules.|| Naxos in Sicily was known historically to have been settled by the Athenian Thucles: but it was believed to have been settled under the guidance of Apollo, whose name was inscribed upon

\* Herod. ii. 44, iv. 147.

† Herod. v. 61. Eurip. Bæch. 1332. Apollod. iii. 5. 4.

‡ Paus. iii. 1. 20.

§ Müller's Dorians, i. 6. § 9.

|| Dion. i. 50.

• Herod. i. 105.



its coins; and the fable was narrated that Naxos, the son of Apollo, was its founder.\* Stories of the same nature were not unknown in Italy. The Itali were the people of Italus;† the Latini of Latinus: Auson was the leader of the Ausones, and founder of Suessa Aurunca;‡ Tarquinii was the city of the grey-headed babe, Tarcon.§ So, likewise, it was assumed, that Rome was built by a founder of similar name. The true nature of the legend would have been clearly seen, if the founder had been called simply Romus. It was disguised by the Latin termination in the name Romulus.|| The Greeks perceiving the character of the fable, but not finding the name which they thought wanted, changed Remus into Romus, as has been observed before. The true signification of such names is most distinctly visible in one of the legends collected by Plutarch, which spoke of Rome as founded by Roma, the daughter of Italus and Leucaria.¶ Leucaria is the mythic representative of the Luceres; one of the three ancient tribes of Rome, and one of the stocks from which the nation sprung.

§ 4. When we enquire into the real origin of the city, we meet with a tradition which carries it back to the age of the Pelasgians.\*\* The Pelasgian origin of Rome is implied in the legend of the settlement of the Arcadian Evander on the Palatine Mount.†† The religion and the language of Rome sanction this belief. The same opinion was probably held at least by the earliest of the many writers, who, according to Dionysius, supposed it to be a Tyrrhenian city.‡‡ If any by this expression meant that it was Etruscan, we oppose to their authority the evidence and reasoning by which we have attempted to show, that the Etruscan dominion was not extended so far south as the lower part of the Tiber, till about the close of the second century of Rome.§§ We have, however, express testimony that Rome was a Siculian town. Varro informed us, that the old annals reported that the Siculi were sprung from Rome:|||| and the legend of Antiochus has been preserved, which derived the appellation of the

Siceli in CEnotria, and Sicily from a mythic chief Sicelus, who fled from Rome, and was entertained by Morges, King of CEnotria.\* It is scarcely necessary to observe that Sicelus is a personification of the nation, and that we have here a record of its original seat and of its migration. The considerations which tend to show that the Siceli or Siculi were a Pelasgian tribe have been discussed in the preceding chapter.†

The Siceli fled from the Opicans;‡ the Pelasgians of Latium were overpowered by the Cascans, whom we have conjectured to be an Opican or Oscan tribe:§ whether the Pelasgian or Siculian Rome fell into the hands of the conquerors we cannot be certain, but it is very probable. It is thus we must interpret the legend preserved by Plutarch, that Romus, king of the Latins, expelled the Tyrrhenians.|| Such a conquest would give rise to the tradition, that Rome was founded as a colony from Alba. Palatium, the settlement on the Palatine hill, probably took its name from Palatium, a town of the Oscan Aborigines on the declivity of the Apennines.¶

§ 5. All traditions agree that the original site of Rome was on the Palatine, whether they ascribe its foundation to Evander or to Romulus. The steepness of the sides of the hill would be its natural defence; and on one quarter it was still further strengthened by a swamp which lay between the hill and the river, which was afterwards drained and called the Velabrum. In the course of time, dwellings sprung up round the foot of the hill; but the Palatine must still have remained the citadel of the growing town.\*\* These suburbs were inclosed by a line, probably a rude fortification, which the learning of Tacitus enabled him to trace, and which he calls the pomœrium of Romulus.†† It ran under three sides of the hill: the fourth was occupied by the swamp before mentioned, where it was neither needful nor possible to carry a wall. The ancient city comprised within this outline, or, possibly, only the citadel on the summit of the hill, was called by the Roman

\* Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1492.

† See pp. 81—82.

‡ See note † p. 100, col. 2.

§ See p. 84.

|| See Nieb. note 219, vol. p. 69.

¶ Plut. Romul.

\*\* Ibid. in init.

†† See p. 107.

‡‡ Dion. l. 29.

§§ See pp. 75, 85.

|||| De Ling. Lat. iv. 10, (v. 20.)

\* Dion. l. 73.

† Ch. iii. § 5. pp. 81, 82, 109.

‡ Thuc. vi. 2.

§ Plut. Rom. See p. 79, col. 1.

|| Dion. l. 14. See p. 110.

\*\* As at Athens that which was the πόλις became the ἀκρόπολις. Thuc. ii. 15.

†† Tac. Ann. xii. 24.

antiquaries the Square Rome.\* There is reason to suppose that some at least of the adjacent hills were the seat of similar settlements. The legend of the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, appears to have arisen from the proximity to Rome of a kindred town called Remoria, either on the Aventine, or on an eminence somewhat more distant toward the sea.† The first enlargement of Rome seems to have been effected by the addition of the Cælian hill, which, as we shall presently show, was probably occupied by a different tribe from the people of the Palatine. Dionysius speaks of Romulus as holding both the Palatine and the Cælian Mount.‡ The next addition to the city was the Esquiline Hill. The festival of Septimontium preserved the memory of a time, when Rome included only Palatium, with its adjacent regions, Velia, Cermalus, and Fagutal; the Cælian hill; and Oppius and Cispius, the two summits of the Esquiline.§ The Capitoline, Quirinal, and Viminal Hills were not yet comprehended in the pomerium: the Aventine was always excluded from this hallowed boundary, even when it was substantially a part of the city.|| Thus we see that the notion that Rome was built on seven hills was fitted originally to circumstances different from those to which it was afterwards applied.

§ 6. The Quirinal and the Capitoline Hills seem to have been the seat of a Sabine settlement, distinct from the Rome on the Palatine, and in early times even hostile to it. The most poetical incident in the legend of Romulus, the rape of the Sabine virgins, involves an historical meaning. It appears to refer to a time when the Romans did not possess the right of intermarriage with some neighbouring Sabine state, and sought to extort it by force of arms.¶ By the right of intermarriage (*connubium*) is meant the mutual recognition, that the children of parents, citizens of the two states, were entitled to the full rank of citizens in the state of their father. This right among the ancient states both of Greece and Italy was established only by express treaty. A citizen might live with a foreign woman as his wife; but, unless

the intermarriage were sanctioned by public compact, his children lost their paternal rank. Niebuhr has observed, that even the poetic legend did not regard Rome as a genuine and lawful colony from Alba; otherwise it would, from the very beginning, have enjoyed the right of intermarriage with the mother city and the other Latin towns; and there would have been no consistency in the story of the want of women.\*

In the narrative of the war with Tatius, Livy calls him only king of the Sabines: but when he mentions that at the close of the war the Sabine appellation, Quirites, was extended to the people of Romulus, he derives it from Cures.† Dionysius has followed the annalists, who expressly specified Cures as the seat of the kingdom of Tatius. Strabo adopted the same tradition.‡ Now, when we consider the exceedingly narrow limits within which all the other incidents of the early Roman traditions are confined, and even the historical events of the first years of the republic, after the kingly dominion of the city was reduced, it seems very unlikely that Rome in its infancy could have come into collision with Cures, which was distant from it more than twenty miles. Moreover, nothing is told of the war before the seizure of the Capitoline Hill. This is the point from which all the attacks of the Sabines proceed. Again, after the termination of the war, we hear nothing of the return of Tatius to Cures. He apparently deserts his old dominion, and establishes himself and his Sabines on the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills.§ The senates of the people of Romulus and Tatius met in conference in the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills; and as the Palatine was the proper seat of the one, so the Capitoline must have been of the other.|| Cures vanishes from our sight: and though the union of the Romans with the Sabine people, with whom they had warred, endured unbroken, there is no trace of their possessing a wider territory than the district immediately adjacent to the hills of Rome.

These considerations are sufficient to expose the inconsistency of the vulgar legend: but the testimony to the incorporation of a portion of the Sabines with

\* Roma Quadrata. Ennius in Festus, v. *Quadrata Roma*; Plut. Rom. Dio Cass. Frag. Dion. i. 89.

† Dion. i. 85. See Nieb. vol. i. note 618.

‡ Dion. ii. 50.

§ Festus, v. *Septimontium*. See Nieb. vol. i. p. 382.

|| See p. 22, col. 2.

¶ Nieb. vol. i. p. 286.

\* Vol. i. note 628.

† Liv. i. 10, 13.

‡ Strabo, v. 3, vol. i. p. 369, 373, ed. Tauchn.

§ Dion. ii. 46, 50.

|| See p. 10, col. i.



the Roman people is far too strong to be set aside. The most probable supposition is, as it has been before stated, that the Sabines, who in the early period of their national existence extended themselves down the left bank of the Tiber,\* had advanced even to the neighbourhood of Rome, and had established a settlement on the Quirinal and Capitoline Hills. Of this town the Capitoline must have been the citadel. It was likewise the seat of its religious worship: for the pontifical books recorded that, before the building of the Capitol, its site was occupied by shrines and fanes consecrated by Tatius.† Tatius we can scarcely regard as a more certainly historical personage than Romulus, though the story of his death at Lavinium has an historical aspect. He is only the personification of the tribe of the Titienses, or Tities, who are said to have taken their name from him. But his people had a real existence. The name of their town has been lost: their own name was undoubtedly Quirites. This people lived in close neighbourhood with the Romans on the Palatine; but they were of different and even hostile races, and no intercourse subsisted between them. Between two petty states, so situated in immediate neighbourhood, it is not at all improbable that women may have been a cause of contest. We can gather from the tradition that wars took place between them, which ended at last in a compact, by which not only the right of intermarriage and a community of all other rights was granted, but the two nations were combined in one. We can even trace the stages of their union. It appears at first to have been a federal union. Each people had its own king and its own senate; and they only met to confer upon matters of common interest. Afterwards one king was acknowledged as the common chief of the united people: the two senates became one body, and consulted for the welfare of the whole state: the national names of Romans and Quirites were extended indifferently to both divisions of the citizens; and they were no longer distinguished as nations, but only as tribes of the same people, under the denomination of Ramnes and Titienses.‡

We shall return presently to the discussion of the tribes, and other political divisions of early Rome, and of the pri-

mitive idea of its constitution. Here we would observe, that the story of the murder of Tatius at Lavinium is probably capable of the following interpretation. The Palatine Rome, which we conjecture to have been originally a Pelasgian city, and to have been reduced by the Cascans or Sacranians, was probably a member of the Latin league, which sacrificed in the common temple of Lavinium. The Quirites, who were Sabines, could not be members of this league, or partners in these religious rites; and would doubtless be excluded, if they sought to appear at Lavinium, notwithstanding their confederacy with Rome. It is not impossible that the advantage of being admitted as members of the Latin league may have induced the Quirites to renounce their separate existence, and to become one people with the Romans of the Palatine: and this may be represented by the legend, that, after the death of Tatius, Romulus reigned alone over both nations.

§ 7. But we are told that the people of Rome were divided into three tribes; and besides the Ramnes and Titienses, a third tribe appears, who are called Luceres. That they were looked upon as an important element in the state, is manifest from the legend above mentioned, that Roma was the daughter of Italus and Leucaria. As the distinction of the two former tribes arose from the difference of their national origin, so we may conclude that the Luceres were a people of a third race, and united either by confederacy or subjection with the other two. The origin of the Titienses is distinctly marked: they were Sabines. That of the first tribe, the Ramnes, the genuine Romans of the Palatine, is not so clear; but it seems probable that they belonged to the Opican stock of the Latins. From these circumstances we might reasonably conjecture that the third tribe, the Luceres, were the remains of a people of the Pelasgian race. They are always enumerated in the third place, as the Ramnes are in the first; which accords well with the idea that they were a conquered and subject class. But there is evidence which points more directly to this conclusion. Though the origin of the Luceres was accounted uncertain by the Roman historians, so that Livy does not venture to assign a cause for their name,\* yet it was generally supposed to be derived from the Etruscan

\* See pp. 95, 96.

† Liv. i. 55. See p. 24.

‡ See p. 10.

\* Liv. i. 13.

Lucumo, who had fought with Romulus against Tatius.\* Now Lucumo was only a title mistaken for a proper name, so that nothing could be derived from it, even if the incidents of the legend were received as historical facts. Moreover, the Etruscans, in the infancy of Rome, had not yet penetrated so far to the south. But the story becomes clear if we admit that we have here the customary confusion between the Etruscans and Tyrrhenians, and that the allies of the Ramnes of the Palatine were a Tyrrhenian or Pelasgian people, a portion of the old inhabitants of Latium. Dionysius adds a circumstance to the legend, which confirms this hypothesis. He says that Lucumo brought his Tyrrhenians from the city Solonium.† No such city is known to have existed: but the level tract on the sea-coast south of the Tiber, lying between Rome on the one hand, and Laurentum and Lavinium on the other, was called the Solonian Plain. This region Dionysius probably found mentioned in some annals: this would assuredly be the seat of Pelasgian Latins; and in this very direction we are expressly told that the early dominion of Rome extended most widely.‡ The Tyrrhenian or Pelasgian origin of the Luceres may be deduced yet more clearly from the legend which described their leader as Lucerus, king of Ardea.§

If we inquire for the town or chief settlement of the Luceres, we shall find reason to conjecture that it was upon the Cælian Hill. We have seen that, according to one tradition, Romulus was supposed to possess the Palatine and the Cælian, while Tatius and his Quirites held the Quirinal and the Capitoline.|| As the latter hills were the seat of the second tribe, the Titenses; and the Palatine of the Ramnes, the first and genuine Romans; it seems reasonable to conclude that the Cælian was the site of the third and subject tribe, the Luceres. Moreover, there is a tradition, though a confused one, that the Cælian took its name from a Tyrrhene or Tuscan chief, Cælius or Cæles, an

auxiliary of Romulus; in short, the Lucumo from whom the Luceres were supposed to deduce their appellation.\* In the accounts which were handed down of the progressive enlargement of the fortified circuit of the city, and of the order in which the several hills were successively included within the walls, the Cælian is placed next to the Palatine, the Capitoline, and the Quirinal; whether the fortification of it is ascribed to Tullus Hostilius,† or mentioned, together with the settlement on the Aventine, as the work of Ancus Marcius.‡

§ 8. The popular tradition, by representing the primitive Romans of the Palatine, and the Sabine tribe which had joined itself to them, as contesting the choice of a king after the death of Romulus, and at last coming to an agreement on condition that the one tribe should choose a king out of the other, bears testimony to the reality of a time, when the connexion between the two parts of the state was, as we have described it, rather a league between two independent towns, than the intimate union of members of the same community. But in Numa there is almost as little which is personal and individual as there is in Romulus. As Romulus was the personification and representative of the Ramnes; so, in the original conception of the tradition, was Tatius of the Titenses. But the habit of mind of the Roman Annalists led them to exhibit the development of the different parts of the state in chronological succession.

Hence in the popular story, Tatius speedily disappears; the poetical unity of the reign of Romulus is suffered to remain unbroken; and the establishment of the Titenses in all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens is reserved for the reign of Numa. He is said to have placed them on an equal footing with the citizens of the elder tribe, not by depriving the founders of the city of any of their rights, but by devising new honours for the later settlers.§ By the division of the public land which is ascribed to him must be understood the formal demarcation of the district of the second tribe, and the acknowledgment of their claim as

\* See Cicero and Propertius cited p. 10, and Varro de L. L. iv. 9.

† Dion. ii. 37.

‡ Festus, v. *Pectuscum Palati*, cited by Nieb. vol. i. note 739. The latter part of the gloss, in which it is said, that "certain hills opposite to the Palatine were occupied by other neighbouring states," seems clearly to refer to the independent existence of the Quirinal town.

§ Festus, v. *Lucerenses*. Compare pp. 79, 111, 112.

|| Dion. ii. 50.

\* Dion. ii. 36. Varro de L. L. iv. 8, 9. Festus, v. *Cælius Mons*. See also Tac. Ann. iv. 65, and the remarks in the next chapter on Cæles Vibenna.

† Dion. iii. l. Liv. l. 33.

‡ Cic. R. P. ii. 18. Strabo, v. 3.

§ Dion. ii. 62.

|| See p. 12,



joint proprietors of the common landed property of the state. The Capitoline hill, one tradition said, had been added to the city by Tatius:\* but Numa is reported to have been the first who included the Quirinal, or the town of the Quirites, within the common wall;† and upon the Quirinal his own dwelling was fixed. No doubt, the oldest legends described him as a citizen of the Quirinal town, not of Cures. From this summary it seems manifest that the reign of Numa must, in its political aspect, be considered only as a representation of the completion of the union between the Titienses and the Ramnes.

But this portion of the annals has also another signification. As to Romulus were ascribed all those civil and military institutions of the Romans, which were handed down by immemorial traditions; those customs of the nation to which no definite origin could be assigned; so to Numa were attributed all the ordinances and establishments of the national religion. As the idea of the ancient polity was embodied under the name of Romulus; so was the idea of the ancient religion under the name of Numa. When we find the origin of any law or of any office referred to either, we must not suppose that we gain any chronological information beyond the bare fact, that its real origin was earlier than any existing national record.

There is little in the legend of Numa which is of a popular and poetical character, except the tradition of the perfect peace of his long reign, and the story of Egeria. All the records of his religious institutions must have been drawn from the books of the Pontiffs.

§ 9. As the reigns of Romulus and Numa Pompilius represent the establishment of two of the tribes or constituent elements of the Roman people, so the reign of Tullus Hostilius seems to comprehend the development of the third tribe. To him, as to Romulus and Numa, is ascribed a division of lands, by which portions were assigned to the needy citizens, who as yet possessed no property in the soil. As Numa was reported to have divided to the poorer citizens the land gained in the wars of Romulus, and he himself in his peaceful reign had made no addition to the national domain, the annalists might be

puzzled to say whence the distribution of Hostilius could be made. But their ingenuity found an explanation of this difficulty. It was stated that an extensive tract of land had been reserved for the kings; and that Hostilius assigned this to those who needed it, professing that his private patrimony sufficed for the expenses of his kingly dignity.\* At the same time he was said to have enclosed the Cælian Mount with a wall, and to have joined it to the part of the city already fortified; there to have given building room to the citizens who were yet unsettled; and there to have fixed his own dwelling.† Now Dionysius and the other historians, who understood the annals to describe the first kings of Rome as assigning lands to beggarly and homeless citizens;‡ had before their eyes the agrarian laws of the Gracchi, or even of later times; and they did not consider that in the primitive condition of a highly aristocratical state, especially in a city not addicted to arts or trade, no such citizens could exist. All the citizens must necessarily have been landholders: all that part of the population which had no property in the soil must have been destitute of civic rights, and dependent upon the free proprietors. Such, we shall presently show, was the state of early Rome. Its original citizens were all included in the order afterwards called Patrician. These were assuredly all, by some tenure, holders of land. They were the patrons of the inferior order; and their clients had not themselves any property in the soil, but merely tilled the lands of their patrons. When, therefore, we read in these early ages of assignments of public lands to the citizens, we must not suppose that lands were given to those who before had none, but simply that the tenure by which some class of the citizens held their lands in relation to the state, which was conceived to be the source of all property, underwent a change. Thus we have interpreted the distribution ascribed to Numa, and which is enumerated amongst his measures for reconciling the first and second tribe, to be a recognition of the same rights of property in the second tribe which already existed in the first, in relation both to their individual patri-

\* Dion. iii. 1.

† Ib., and Liv. i. 30.

‡ *Ἀνίστιον καὶ πτωχὸν ἀλάμενον.* Dion. ii. 62.

\* Tac. Ann. xii. 24.

† Dion. ii. 62.

monies, and to the common landed property of the state. By the same rule we interpret the distribution of Hostilius to be a similar recognition of the rights of property in the third tribe, which had hitherto stood in an inferior rank, and held its property by some less favourable tenure. The supposition of the peculiar domain of the kings being sufficiently extensive to suffice for a large distribution, in the sense in which the story was told by the annalists, is as improbable as the rest of their conception; but it may suggest the conjecture, that the Luceres had hitherto held their lands, not in absolute property, and not as common proprietors of the public domain, but as vassals or tenants of the state, which would be represented in the person of the king. That the distribution of Hostilius affected the third tribe, is rendered probable by its being connected with the assignment of ground for building on the Cælian Mount, and the enclosure of that part of the city within one line of fortification with the older town; if there is any weight in the arguments adduced above to show that the town on the Cælian was the settlement of the Luceres. From the circumstance that Hostilius himself dwelt there, and that he derived his origin from the Latin town Medullia,\* it may be conjectured that he himself was considered to belong to the Luceres, as Romulus to the Ramnes, and Numa to the Titenses.

The personal existence of Romulus we have utterly rejected: that of Numa is more than questionable: but it would probably be carrying our scepticism too far to deny the individuality of Tullus Hostilius. Yet there is little in the story of his reign which can be received as historical truth. The traditions of his distribution of land, and of his enlargement of the pomerium by the addition of the Cælian Mount, were taken, no doubt, from the pontifical records, or some other of the old religious books. We have endeavoured to put in a clearer light the facts which seem to be implied in these memorials. But the main story of his reign, the conquest of Alba, is manifestly of a poetical character, and must have been one of the noblest of the old heroic lays. The meeting of the armies on the very borders of their respective territories; the marvellous incident

that in each army there should be three brothers born at a birth; the combat of these champions on behalf of the rival cities; the mode in which anxiety is wrought up by the alternations of success in the contest; the tie of affection by which Horatia is bound to the fallen Curatius; the death of the sister by the hand of the brother; his condemnation by the righteous judges; his pardon by the grateful people; the treachery of Mettus Fufetius, so vividly described, which made even the boldest of the Roman kings vow temples to Paleness and Fear; his strange and symbolical punishment; the judicial and solemn destruction of the faithless city; the sparing of the ancestral temples; the wrath of the deserted gods, denounced by a warning voice from the lofty summit of the Alban hill, the shrine of the Latin Jupiter; the infliction of divine vengeance and supernatural fears on him who had been victorious over every human enemy; and, last of all, the infatuation by which the impious conqueror drew down fire from heaven on his devoted head: surely all these incidents betoken the imagination of the poet, not the exactness of the sober chronicler. Of the truth which is concealed beneath this magnificent legend nothing can be affirmed to be certain but the fact of the destruction of Alba. Some of the circumstances of the story are evidently marvellous; of the rest we cannot separate the true from the false. That it was by Rome that Alba was destroyed, Niebuhr has observed, is improbable, because in that case the territory of the conquered people, and the site of the ruined city, would have become the property of the conquerors. But the Alban Mount was no part of the domain of Rome: it belonged to the confederate Latins, who held their national meetings, as long as the nation remained independent, at the grove and fountain of Ferentina at the foot of the hill. It would seem more likely that Alba was destroyed by a revolt of the subject Latin towns; in which it is possible that Rome bore a part.\*

We have treated of the distribution of land and the enclosure of the Cælian Mount, as Dionysius has related them, as matters entirely distinct from the story of the Alban War. In commenting on the characters of the two histo-

\* Dion. iii. 1.

\* Nieb. vol. i. p. 344. See above, p. 114.



rians of early Rome, we observed that Dionysius was better acquainted with the religious books; that Livy was more inclined to follow the poetical stories. Thus in the present case we find from Livy that the poetical legend connected the enlargement of Rome with the ruin of Alba. It is related that the citizens of Alba were removed to Rome; and that land for building was assigned to them on the Cælian Mount, and that the Cælian was thus added to the city.\* But another circumstance of the narrative strongly confirms the hypothesis of the development of the Roman state, which has been already laid down. It is said that certain of the chief Alban houses were added to the patricians.† According to Livy's account, they were chosen into the *Patres*, or Fathers. By this term Livy himself in this place understood the senators; but we may take it in the sense in which it was used by the early Romans, and by the Annalists, from whom Livy drew his materials, and by Livy himself elsewhere, and consider it as designating simply the patrician order.‡ It was the patrician order which was augmented, not the senate; for the old law books recognized no increase of the number of the senate, from the time when it was made two hundred by the union of the Romans and Sabines, till it was raised to three hundred by Tarquinius Priscus. This same augmentation is told in another form immediately afterwards. It is said that ten troops (*turmæ*) were chosen from the Albans and added to the knights.§ The true interpretation of this statement seems to be that a new tribe was added to the patrician body, which, like each of the two earlier tribes, was divided into ten *curiæ*, so as to complete the number of thirty *curiæ*. The ten troops of knights would be composed of the men of military age, who were at the head of the houses of the ten *curiæ*.|| The tribe thus added to the Patriciate was the Luceres. The Alban patricians of the poetic legend are identified with the Luceres by the mention of the Cælian Mount as their place of settlement. Probably, some historical truth is involved in the legend. If the dominant tribe of the Ramnes were, as we have conjectured, and as the tradition of the colony of Romulus most strongly attests, of the same Opi-

can stock as the Albans; and if the Luceres were akin to the Pelasgian Latins; then the recovery of independence by the Pelasgian Latins, in consequence of the destruction of Alba, may have given new importance to the Luceres, and have enabled them to claim a share in the privileges of the ruling order. Or it is possible that, when Alba was destroyed by the Latins, some portion of its citizens sought refuge at Rome, and were enrolled among the subject Luceres; and the increased importance thus given to the tribe may have caused its elevation to the Patriciate.

Thus the reigns of the first three kings comprehend the period of the formation of the Roman people, so far as it was distinct from the plebeian estate, which does not seem to have been recognized as an element in the Commonwealth, till the reign of Ancus Marcius.

§ 10. It has been observed in the narrative,\* that the popular traditions respecting Ancus Marcius are of an historical character, and may be regarded as substantially true. By the statements that he was the son of Numa's daughter, we are informed that he was of the Sabine stock of the nation. It is worth notice, that the first four kings are represented as alternately of Latin and Sabine race. The record that Ancus restored the religious institutions of Numa, and promulgated to the people the ceremonial ritual, may be received as strengthening the conclusion, which we cannot fail to draw from the legend of Numa, that the early Romans believed their national religion to be mainly derived from the Sabines.

The most important of the events ascribed by the Annalists to the reign of Ancus Marcius is his war with the Latins. There is less discrepancy than usual between the military details which are related by the historians†; but it would be a waste of time to repeat them, or to inquire minutely into the position of little towns, the sites of which were forgotten by the Romans themselves. It is enough for us to know the result, on which all the traditions agree; that three or four such little towns were taken by Ancus; that their territory was added to the dominion of Rome, and their inhabitants received into the number of Roman citizens.

\* Liv. i. 30, 33.

† Dion. iii. 29.

‡ See below, p. 155.

§ Liv. i. 30.

|| See below, p. 147.

\* See chap. i. § 8.

† The mention in Dionysius of Fidenæ in place of Ficana may be a mistake of the copiers.

We must not, however, receive literally the statements, that the whole multitude of the conquered Latins was removed to Rome, and a population of many thousands thus added to the city.\* Such removals of a conquered people were effected by the armies of the vast empires of the East; but are incredible in a narrative of the petty wars of Rome and Latium. Though the conquered territory would be considered as becoming the property of the Roman State; yet it is probable that the greater part was left in the possession of the former owners. We shall see reason for believing that it was restored to them in absolute property, subject only to the payment of a tribute. Those, therefore, who retained their lands would, probably, continue to reside near them. If, however, any chose to remove their families to Rome, either for the sake of dwelling in safety within a fortified town, (for we may readily believe the story that their own towns were dismantled,†) or for the advantage of a closer connexion with the state of which they were made citizens, the Aventine Hill, and a portion of the valley which divided the Aventine from the Palatine and the Cælian, was assigned for their residence. The narrowness of these limits shows the absurdity of the notion, that the inhabitants of several towns, and of their subject territories, were collected within them. The ditch of the Quirites, by which the exposed quarter of the city was defended, Niebuhr believes to be the *Marrana* described above.‡

Though a large body of new citizens was thus added to the state, it is not said that any were admitted into the senate, or any addition made to the Patrician order, as was done, according to the story of the *Annals*, after the conquest of Alba. In fact, it seems that, with the new citizens of Ancus, a new order in the state, the *Plebs* or commonalty first assumed a distinct existence. The discussion of the relation of the Plebeian and Patrician orders is reserved for the next Section; but here it may be briefly stated, that by the name plebeians or commons, is signified an order of citizens, who were personally independent, but who were not a part of the governing body. Such an order is insensibly formed in all exclusive aristocratical states; and no doubt had begun to exist at Rome. But it was al-

together insignificant till the accession of the conquered Latins gave it numbers and wealth, and military strength, and even nobility of birth: for those who were nobles in their own states, were only commoners at Rome. The fact, that the subject Latins mainly constituted the plebeian order may be gathered, not only from the negative evidence which has been already mentioned, and from the growing importance of the plebeians after this period, but more directly from the tradition that the Aventine Hill was assigned as their property and their dwelling place. For the Aventine was always the peculiar quarter of the plebeians. Though lying close to the oldest parts of the city, thickly inhabited, and strongly fortified, it was never included within the boundary called *Pomœrium*, till the reign of the Emperor Claudius.\* The reason of this distinction was, that the *Pomœrium* was consecrated by the Etruscan ceremonies of inauguration,† which were the exclusive inheritance and privilege of the patricians; and it was the limit beyond which auspices could not be taken within the city. Hence, manifestly, it must have been the limit of the patrician city; and, as it was gradually extended, it comprehended the three towns, which were the seats of the three patrician tribes. The *pomœrium* of Romulus, which is traced by Tacitus, included only the Palatine.‡ When we are told that Numa augmented the compass of the city by the Quirinal Hill,§ we must understand that Numa, who, in his political aspect, is considered as the author of all the rights and franchises of the Second Tribe, carried the hallowed circle of the *pomœrium* round the city of the Quirites, thus completing their union with the Ramnes of the Palatine.|| When Tullus Hostilius is said to have added the Cælian Mount to the city, we must not conceive that it was previously uninhabited or unfortified. We have seen that it was reckoned part of the dominion of Romulus; and the ancient festival of Septimontium, which has been mentioned above,¶ shows that it was annexed to the Palatine before the hills, which were the seats of the Quirites. But Tullus first included it within the *pomœrium*, because he first raised the Luceres, who dwelt upon it,

\* Liv. i. 33.

† Dion. iii. 38.

‡ See p. 113; and Nieb. vol. i. pp. 347, 384.

Aul. Gell. xiii. 14.

See above, § 5. p. 123.

See above, § 8.

† Liv. i. 44.

§ Dion. ii. 62.

¶ § 5. 124.



to the dignity of the Patriciate. These extensions of the ceremonial limit must not be confounded with the extension of the actual fortifications of the city, which were not finally completed till the reign of Servius Tullius.\* After the time of the primitive Square Rome, the pomerium was not necessarily the same as the wall. The Aventine, whether it were within the wall of Servius or not, was certainly not within the pomerium, and the reason was, that the settlers upon it were Plebeians.† At a later period, when the Patricians had encroached upon it, the exclusive possession of it was vindicated to the plebeians by the Icilian law,‡ which was considered of such vital importance, as to be guarded by religious solemnities, like the other fundamental laws or treaties between the two estates of the nation; and we shall see, that in the commotions which attended the institution of the Tribunate, and the dissolution of the Decemvirate, the plebeians made the Aventine their stronghold within the city.

As we have explained the assignments of the public lands, which are ascribed to Numa and to Tullus Hostilius, to be merely the recognition by the state of the same rights of property in the second and third tribes which already existed in the first; so, by the division of land which is ascribed to Ancus,§ we must probably understand merely the act, by which the territory, which by conquest had become the property of the state, was restored to the former proprietors

in their new character of plebeian citizens, subject to the conditions which the state imposed. The conditions of the tenure of plebeian land, as we shall see hereafter, were a fixed tribute, and an obligation to military service; and it is probable that both of these took their origin from this time. To this connexion of the plebeians with Ancus, and to the tradition of his distribution of lands, we may ascribe the kindly feeling with which his memory was preserved.\*

We may now perceive the great importance of the Latin war of Ancus, the first event in Roman history to which we can ascribe a truly historical character; and we see, also, how the force of the Latin confederacy was broken by the revolt of the subject towns from Alba, and the destruction of that sovran city. Though the acquisition of territory was probably made in the neighbourhood of Rome, the military operations of Ancus were pushed to a greater distance. He is said to have attacked the ancient city of Velitræ, which lay beyond the Alban hills, and to have compelled the inhabitants to sue for peace. Velitræ, in after days, was taken by the Volsci, and became one of their chief cities. Dionysius has been misled by this circumstance, and has supposed that the town was already in the hands of the Volsci; and thus has described Ancus as engaged in war with that nation. But the Volscians did not penetrate thus far, till about fifteen years after the expulsion of the kings; and do not appear to have begun their encroachments upon the Latins before the reign of the last Tarquinius.† Velitræ, in the time of Ancus, was still a Latin town; and the war with Velitræ was a part of the great war with the Latins.

No result is ascribed to the war of Ancus with the Sabines. That with the Veientes is evidently connected with the operations by which he extended the dominion of Rome to the sea, and by securing the possession of the mouth of the Tiber, laid the foundation of the commerce and of the maritime power which Rome enjoyed in the latter years

\* This confusion has been made by both the historians, and by all the writers who have spoken of the increase of the city. Niebuhr himself has not escaped it; and it appears in the earlier Sections of this chapter (§§ 5, 7, 8, 9,) at the end of the Fourth Number. It is a disadvantage attendant upon writing and publishing a work piecemeal, that when an error in the earlier part has been detected by subsequent research or reflection, it cannot be corrected silently, but the reader must be troubled with the mistake and the explanation. Livy's definition of the pomerium, which is given in a note, p. 20, is true only where the pomerium coincides with the real wall.

† According to the tradition of the Augurs (Messala in *Aul. Gell.* xiii. 14.) the Aventine was excluded from the pomerium, because it was the spot on which Remus had observed the auspices respecting the foundation of the city, and had failed (see p. 7). The relation of cause and effect was probably the reverse. Because the Aventine, as the plebeian quarter, was not included in the pomerium, it was named in the legend as the place of the unsuccessful observation of Remus. Niebuhr has observed, that the legend of the twin brothers was typical of the twofold nature of the Roman state, compounded of the Patricians and Plebeians (vol. i. p. 288.)

‡ A *Lex Sacra*: A.U.C. 299. B.C. 454. Liv. iii. 31, 32. Dion. x. 31, 32.

§ Cic. P. R. ii. 18.

\* Niebuhr, to whom we are indebted for this remark, has observed likewise, that Virgil must have adopted the feeling of some patrician legend, when he described Ancus as unduly courting public favour:—

Jactantior Ancus,  
Nunc quoque jam nimium gaudens popularibus  
auris. Æn. vi. 815.

† See p. 103.

of the kingly period. The mouth of the Tiber is now choked with shoals, and it was so in some measure in the time of Augustus: but, if we may trust to Dionysius, it was still accessible to vessels of the burthen of 3000 amphoræ, and they could be brought even up to Rome by towing.\* Those of greater burthen were, of course, forced to unload at the entrance of the river. To what extent art was employed to make the channel thus navigable, we are not informed: but it is manifest, that a river like the Tiber, flowing from a mountainous country, but retarded by traversing a level plain, must always have had a tendency to block up its mouth, and must have required the art of man to keep a deep channel clear, even if it were not deepened by artificial means.† At all events, the command of the river was of great importance to the growing city upon its banks; and Ancus extended his dominion to its mouth, and built the town of Ostia on a projecting elbow land, which then lay between the sea and the river, and, like a natural pier, served as a shelter for ships which had once entered the channel.‡ Ostia was the oldest of the Roman colonies; for even if Crustumium and other conquered towns had received Roman colonists, as the legend of Romulus affirmed, they had revolted and expelled the unwelcome settlers. Ostia, and other subsequent settlements, which were designated as the Maritime Colonies, enjoyed different rights from those colonies which were planted as military garrisons in conquered towns.§ By the war with the Veientes, Ancus obtained the dominion of the country about the mouth of the river on its opposite bank, and thus became master of both sides down to the sea. As the district thus acquired, the Mæasian Wood,

was productive of timber, it may have been valuable for ship building.\* To secure the communication of Rome with this territory, he threw a wooden bridge across the river, the most ancient structure of the kind on record; and he guarded the approach to the bridge on the Etruscan side by the erection of a fort on the Ianiculus. It is observable, that the end of the bridge towards Rome was flanked by the new settlement on the Aventine. This series of measures indicates a permanent increase in the power of the state.

§ 11. In the interpretation which has been given of the traditionary history of the first three kings of Rome, as representing the origin and establishment of the three tribes, we have adopted a view of the primary division of the people, which differs widely from the common notion of it, and to which the reader cannot be expected to assent, until it has been more fully developed. Again, in ascribing the beginning of the magnitude and importance of the *plebs* or Commonalty to the conquests of Ancus Marcius over the Latins, we have assumed a position in direct contradiction to the express assertion, or implied hypothesis of the writers on Roman history, who seem all to have supposed, that the plebeian order was as old as the foundation of the city. We cannot, therefore, proceed in the history of Rome, until we have explained our conception of its primitive constitution. The point at which we have paused appears to present the fittest opportunity for such an investigation; because, after this period, no new element was added to the state, but changes began in the mutual relation of those which already existed.†

\* Cic. R. P. ii. 18. Victor: "Silvas ad usum navium publicavit."

\* Dion. iii. 44. Compare the account in Strabo v. 3, which, in some respects, agrees with Dionysius, but states expressly, that the harbour was blocked by shoals. See also Plut. Cæs.

† The lines of Ennius seem to apply a tradition that Ancus cleared the channel:—

Ostia munita est: idem loca navibus pulcris  
Munda facit.—Festus, in v. *Quæso*.

‡ Dion. iii. 44. Flor. i. 4. The Tiber was divided at its mouth into branches, of which the left, on which Ostia stood, must have been the principal when that town was founded. This was gradually choked up, and the river found its way to the sea by the right branch, upon which the new harbour, the Portus Augusti, was formed. See Procopius, De Reb. Goth. l. 1; and compare Ov. Fasti, iv. 329, with Rutilius, De Reditu, l. 181. Ostia is now more than three miles from the mouth of the river.

§ Liv. xxvii. 38. xxxvi. 3. They appear to have enjoyed the *Cærite* franchise. Niebuhr, vol. i. c. 17 note; in the first edition of the original.

† In every essential point we agree with the theory of the Roman polity which has been propounded by Niebuhr. If his views were generally adopted by men of learning and professed scholars, it would be sufficient for our purpose to take the truth of them for granted, and to state merely the results of his investigations. Our work would have been of a more popular character; and here, as well as in the preceding portions of it, the reader would have been spared much discussion and citation of authorities. But Niebuhr's propositions have not yet commanded such a general assent as to warrant this assumption. Assent, however, is withheld, not because his arguments are insufficient, but because comparatively few scholars have thoroughly followed his profound and laborious researches. Under these circumstances, it appears to be our duty to present the substance of his disquisitions in a more methodical order, and in a briefer shape; and thus to effect one step in bringing down the views of this great historian to the level of the comprehension



In the First Chapter, in which we narrated the traditionary history of the early ages of Rome, are some brief records of the forms of the constitution. In this part of our work, we were careful to present the genuine traditions, and refrained from introducing any comment upon them or any interpretation of them. In making our choice between discordant versions of the same story, we endeavoured to preserve the tales which bore the character of oral and popular tradition, without reference to their truth or falsehood; but, in the accounts of the constitution and of the political divisions of the people, which were not mere legendary tales, but must have come originally from the legal and religious books, we took care, though we added nothing, to select those forms of the tradition, which appeared substantially true, and to reject the erroneous statements of the later annalists and historians. These brief memorials, therefore, which we will now recapitulate, are true, although they are very imperfect; and they will supply the ground-work for our more detailed explanation.

It has been recorded, that, among the original population of the city, those who could show a noble or free ancestry constituted the Patrician Order;\* and to them alone belonged a share in the government of the state. The rest of the people were subject to the king and to the body of Patricians: and each man, with his household, was attached, under the appellation of Client, to the head of some Patrician family, whom he was bound to serve, and from whom he looked for protection and help.† It was stated that after the Sabine war, and the union of the people of Romulus and Tatius, the citizens were distributed into three tribes, to which were given the names Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres; and the three tribes were subdivided into thirty curiæ, ten in each tribe.‡ In the national assembly the people were called together in their curiæ: the votes of the householders in each curia were taken in the separate curia; the vote of the majority was given as the vote of the curia; and the

votes of the greater number of the thirty curiæ determined the business before the assembly. This assembly was called the *Comitia Curiata*.\* Besides this popular assembly, there was a select and perpetual council, called the Senate. At its first institution it was composed of a hundred chief men of the Patrician Order. Ten of these were of higher rank than the rest; and to one, the chief of all, was entrusted the care of the city, whenever the king should be absent in war.† After the completion of the union with the people of Tatius, the senate was doubled, by the addition of a hundred Sabines;‡ and the first Tarquinius added a third hundred to the ancient number. These senators admitted by Tarquinius were called Fathers of the Less Houses or Kins (*Patres Minorum Gentium*); and the old senators, Fathers of the Greater Houses or Kins (*Patres Majorum Gentium*).§

Such is a correct, although imperfect, outline of the forms of the primitive constitution. With respect to the authorities from which it is deduced, we must premise that Dionysius has endeavoured to give a full and formal account of the establishment of the constitution, and of its changes; and thus has preserved the most valuable records, although they are obscured and distorted by his deficient knowledge and false opinions. But the statements which he has made incidentally in the course of his work upon the faith of the ancient annalists, even where he has misunderstood them himself, are frequently such as to enable us to correct the erroneous notions which are conveyed in his more precise descriptions. Livy has not attempted to describe the ancient constitution of the state; and, consequently, our information is to be gathered from his incidental allusions. From this cause, although less is to be collected from him than from Dionysius, he does not mislead the student by explicitly asserting a false theory of the old order of things. The notices which we find in Cicero's Dialogue on a Republic, and which rest mainly on the authority of Polybius,|| are very valuable, and may be considered as lying nearer to the original sources of knowledge than the statements of Dionysius and Livy.

of ordinary readers. A popular history of Rome, which shall proceed upon the assumption of the truth of Niebuhr's discoveries, is probably a work for another generation.

\* *Patricii*, equivalent to *ingenui*. Liv. x. 8; Cincius in Festus, v. *Patricios*.

† Chap. i. p. 8.

‡ Chap. i. p. 10. Dion. ii. 7. Plut. Rom.

\* Chap. i. p. 11. See also p. 21.

† Chap. i. p. 8.

‡ Chap. i. p. 10.

§ Chap. i. p. 18.

|| See chap. ii. § 3, vii. p. 44.

The leading feature in the outline which we have sketched above, is the position that the original population of Rome was composed only of the Patrician Order and of their clients. Upon this statement all our authorities are agreed, either by express assertion or implicit consent.\* This then we may assume to be true; subject only to a correction with regard to the very earliest age, which shall be mentioned hereafter. But this statement is generally accompanied by another, arising from a false conception, which has obscured and embarrassed the whole course of the early history. The clients are supposed to have been the same as the Plebeians. They are conceived to have been called Plebeians as a body, in opposition to the Patrician body, but clients individually in relation to their particular patrons. Such, at least, is the explicit statement of Dionysius, and of Plutarch, who has followed his authority; and this view of the matter has been adopted without question by modern writers. This, however, is an error, as has been already intimated, and shall soon be clearly demonstrated. The Plebs or Commonalty was of more recent origin; and the Plebeians, in their civil rights, held a middle place between the ruling Patricians and the dependent clients.

Reserving for the present the discussion of the relation of the clients to their patrons, and the distinction between the civil conditions of the clients and the Plebeians, we will proceed to consider the artificial divisions of the people. In the account which is given of the establishment of the three tribes, the circumstances which carry with them the most meaning are, that this distribution is placed after the war with the Sabines, and that the names of the first two tribes are expressly derived from Romulus and Tatius.† Dionysius is the only author who has described the division of the tribes as preceding the Sabine war, and pertaining to the original people of Romulus; and, as if conscious that this view of the story was not reconcilable with the ordinary interpretation of the names, he has not mentioned the names at all. He has been seduced into this perversion of the common legend by his wish to present, at the beginning of his history, a systematic scheme of the primitive constitu-

tion. Probably he had before him some constitutional and legal treatise; and, adopting literally and formally the vulgar tradition, by which all the immemorial institutions of the state were attributed to its founder Romulus, he has described him as arranging the polity of his infant people in all its details immediately after the building of the city, and thus goes through all the internal history of his reign before he proceeds to the external events. We must not suffer our conceptions to be embarrassed by this arbitrary method; but may safely take the common story as the groundwork of our fabric. If then we bear in mind the origin and true nature of the name of Romulus,\* we may see clearly that *Ramnes* was only an older form of the name *Romans*; and that the *Ramnes* were the citizens of the primitive Rome on the Palatine; and instead of simply believing that the *Titenses* were named from Tatius, we draw the conclusion, that, as the hero and founder Romulus was a personification of Rome and the Romans, so Tatius was an imaginary hero, whose existence was invented as a type of the tribe *Titenses*. When therefore we find that Tatius and the people of Tatius are described as dwelling on the Quirinal and Capitoline Hills,‡ we conclude that the *Titenses* were the citizens of the Sabine town, which was first allied with Rome and then united with it; and that the distinction of the tribes arose out of the difference of race between the two component parts of the combined people.§ When this point is established with regard to the first two tribes, it follows that the third tribe, the tribe of the *Luceres*, must have had a similar origin; and we have accordingly endeavoured to assign it.¶ The history of the origin and establishment of the three tribes is comprehended, according to our interpretation of the traditionary story, in the history of the first three kings. That the *Luceres* were not at first upon an equal footing with the other two tribes has been intimated already,|| and will be shown more clearly hereafter. In fact, it will appear in the course of the history, that, even after they were gradually raised to a participation in the power and privileges of the two elder tribes,

\* See Dion. ii. 8, 9. Plut. Rom.

† Cle. R. P. ii. 8. Liv. i. 13. Plut. Rom.

\* See p. 122.

† Dion. ii. 50. Liv. i. 55. See p. 124.

‡ See p. 125.

§ See above, § 7, pp. 125, 126.

|| See §§ 7 and 9.



their inferiority continued to be marked, not only by forms, but by certain substantial distinctions. At the head of each of the three tribes was a magistrate, called a Tribune.\* It is probably to the office of tribune of the Titienses that the legend refers which has been preserved by Plutarch,† that after the death of Tatius, Romulus appointed yearly a magistrate over the Sabines. These tribunes, of course, fulfilled both civil and military duties; but they seem likewise to have been charged with the care of certain sacred rites, which gave them a sacred character, and caused them to be reckoned as a college of priests.‡

The three Flamens, of Mars, Quirinus, and Jupiter, were priests of the highest dignity among the Romans;§ and there seems to be sufficient ground to conjecture that these three deities were the guardian gods of the three national tribes. Mars, Mavors, or Mamers, was a deity much worshipped among the indigenous Italian races;|| and the legend that he was the father of Romulus points him out as the god of the Opican Ramnes. Quirinus was peculiarly a Sabine god;¶ and his temple was in the Sabine region of the city, on the Quirinal hill.\*\* He may, therefore, be considered as the national god of the Quirites or Titienses. That Jupiter was a Pelasgian deity, identical with the Zeus of the Greeks, is manifest upon the evidence both of mythology

and etymology;\* and if we are right in referring the Luceres to a Pelasgian origin, we may consider the worship of Jupiter as belonging in a peculiar manner to them.†

The curiæ, likewise, were each under the protection of some god or hero, from whom, probably, they were named;‡ and had their peculiar religious rites, which were the bond of union among their members. A common banquet, at stated seasons, was a part of these ceremonies. For these solemnities each curia had its common hall, also called *Curia*, in which was placed its sacred hearth or altar.§ As in a house, the hearth, which was consecrated to the household gods, was the centre of union to the members of the family; so these corporations were considered as larger families, and the symbol of their union was the hearth in their common hall. The common hearth of all the curiæ, that is, of the whole people, was the altar in the Temple of Vesta, on which the holy fire was perpetually burning.|| We cannot enter into the spirit of the early ages of Rome, unless we understand how intimately all its civil institutions were connected with religious observances. At the head of each curia was a magistrate, called a Curion (*Curio*); and these officers, besides their other functions, performed the sacred rites of the curia.¶ They thus formed a college of priests, at the head of which was a chief curion (*curio maximus*). Dionysius states that provision was made for the due performance of all the ceremonies of the public worship by the election of two priests from

\* Dion. ii. 7. Plut. Rom. and Pomponius, cited by Nieb. vol. i. p. 325, note 833.

† Romul. Xylander and Stephen substituted *Αλβανίς* for the old reading *Σαβίνας*.

‡ Dion. ii. 64. Nieb. vol. i. note 840.

§ See p. 12.

|| See Dion. i. 14. Strabo, v. 4, 2.; and pp. 97, 99.

¶ Dion. ii. 48. Dionysius, on the authority of Varro, describes Quirinus as an ancient Sabine deity, worshipped in an age anterior to the foundation of Rome; and recounts the legend which is noticed, chap. i. § 16. p. 35. It is difficult to conceive how the Romans should have confounded, as they did, this Sabine god with their deified hero Romulus. Cicero, Dionysius himself, and Plutarch, in their account of the apparition of Romulus to Julius Proculus, all describe him as revealing himself as the god Quirinus. The Roman poets adopted the same fable. Livy alone seems to have felt a difficulty in identifying Romulus with Quirinus; for, though he describes the apparition, he is silent on this point. The fact seems to be, that the story that Romulus, the founder of Rome, was the son of Mars by a vestal virgin, was originally one and the same with the story that the founder of Cures was the son of Quirinus, and his mother a virgin, engaged in the service of his temple. For Quirinus was a deity of similar attributes to Mars; so that Varro doubted whether they were to be distinguished, except in name. By Cures in this legend we are probably to understand the Quirinal town.

\*\* Clc. R. P. ii, 10; Plut. Rom.

\* See p. 108.

† It is worth notice, that in one form of the tradition, the institution of the Flamens of Mars and Jupiter is ascribed to Romulus (Plut. Num.) This agrees with the hypothesis, that the people of the Palatine and the Cælian, the Ramnes and the Luceres, were the original population of Rome. The institution of the Flamens of Quirinus is ascribed to Numa. This would appear to follow of course, if Quirinus were the deified Romulus; but it may be part of an older legend, and have reference to the Quirite or Sabine origin of the worship of Quirinus.

‡ Varro dissented from the tradition, which said that the names of the Curiae were derived from the thirty Sabine women (see above, p. 10); and recorded that they were taken from their leaders (*ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἡγεμόνων*, Dion. ii. 47). By these leaders we must understand *Heroes Eponymi*.

§ Dion. ii. 23.

|| Dion. ii. 65, 66. In the ancient commonwealths of Greece a sacred fire was kept perpetually burning on the hearth of the Prytaneum or hall of the magistrates. When a colony was sent out, the fire in its Prytaneum was kindled from the fire in the Prytaneum of the mother city.

¶ Dion. ii. 7, and 64.

each curia, who held their dignity for life. They were required to be beyond the age of military service, and were exempt from all civil offices.\*

The most important of all institutions connected with the curiæ, was the great national council, the *Comitia Curiata*; and the right understanding of the whole course of the early Roman history depends upon a right notion of the constitution of this assembly. At its first origin, and as long as it continued to have a real existence,† it was composed exclusively of the Patrician order. It cannot be thought strange that the clients, an inferior order of men, personally dependent on individuals of the Patrician body, should not appear in the supreme council of the state. The great distinction which demands our attention is this, that the Plebeians were still more certainly excluded from it. Even when the Plebeian estate had grown up to such magnitude and importance, that it had its peculiar magistrates, and was become a chief element in the constitution of the commonwealth, even then the *Comitia Curiata* were exclusively Patrician, and the Plebeians had no part in them. The fact was, that the distribution of the people into tribes and curiæ, and the still further division into *Gentes*, or houses, which will be explained presently, had respect only to the original stock of the nation; and this original stock kept itself distinct from the body of new citizens which was added by conquest, or sprung up insensibly from other causes. The clients, inasmuch as they were attached to individual Patricians, were attached to the *Gentes*; and so may be considered, in this sense, as included in the greater divisions of curiæ and tribes; although it is manifest that they could not appear as members of the curiæ, when these were called together as the component parts of the sovereign popular assembly. But the Plebeians grew up as a separate body by the side of the original Patrician citizens, and were never incorporated in their peculiar divisions. They were not members of the *gentes*, or of the curiæ, or of the three tribes; consequently, they had no share in the *Comitia Curiata*; and this assem-

bly, in which resided the supreme power of the state, was, as we have stated, exclusively Patrician. It is needless to insist upon the importance of this distinction to a right view of the constitution and of its successive changes; and, indeed, to a right notion of the whole internal history, which for more than two centuries is made up of the struggles of the Patrician and Plebeian orders. Yet this distinction was overlooked by all the writers on Roman history; and they suffered themselves to be misled by the superficial theory of Dionysius, who represented the government of Rome as thoroughly democratical from the very foundation of the city, and conceived the public assembly to be composed of the whole male population of the state, with the exception of household slaves. The intuitive genius of Vico\* perceived that in no nation

\* Giambattista Vico was born at Naples in 1670. He studied chiefly jurisprudence; and, in 1725, he published *Principi di una Scienza Nuova d'intorno alla Natura delle Nazioni* (Principles of a New Science respecting the Nature of Nations). Vico appears to have been endowed with a singular originality of genius, and a power of intuitive discernment; but to have become partially insane, in consequence of fracturing his skull by a fall over a staircase, in the seventh year of his age. The object of his work is to show that the phenomena of society are the result of principles ordained by Divine Providence; and, consequently, that they follow one another according to a certain method, and that an analogy subsists in the histories of all nations. His work contains many sound general principles, and profound observations upon particular points of history, intermingled inseparably with the most fanciful speculations on the progress of society, and the wildest allegorical interpretations of ancient traditions. He commences his work with an allegorical frontispiece, which he explains at great length, and which would deter most sane readers from proceeding further. His most just remarks, and his most extravagant fancies, are delivered as self-evident truths; nor does he appear to have had the slightest perception of the necessity of establishing facts by historical evidence. He seems to arrive at them by reasoning *à priori* from principles which he had deduced in his own mind from the general study of history; but he gives no account to the reader of the process by which his principles were obtained. Moreover, his style is singularly difficult and obscure. Nevertheless, in this uncouth guise, Vico anticipated the hypothesis of Wolf respecting the origin and nature of the Homeric poems, and many of the discoveries of Niebuhr respecting the primitive constitution of Rome and its progressive changes. He agrees with Niebuhr in his conception of the rigid and exclusive aristocracy of the Patricians, and of its essential connexion with the auspices and other religious observances. He differs from him chiefly in supposing that the Plebs sprung out of the Clients, as their subjection to their patrons was gradually mitigated. Vico's work was little known, and would have been utterly forgotten, if the invaluable truths which it contains had not been re-discovered by men of sounder intellect. It cannot be questioned that Niebuhr's views of the Roman history were formed in entire independence of Vico, and by a process quite different from his arbitrary fabrication of theories. But, after the publication of the first edition of the History

\* Dion. ii. 21.

† The *Comitia Curiata* became ultimately a mere form, preserved only for certain religious and ceremonial purposes; and the thirty Curie were then represented by thirty *lictors*. Cic. de Leg. Agr. cc. 11, 12.



whatever (except in colonies sent out in the later ages of the parent state) was democracy the original form of government; and he clearly pointed out the peculiar strictness of the aristocracy of ancient Rome, and the exclusive nature of the *Gentes*, and *Curie*, and *Curiata Comitia*. Though Vico announced the truth, he did not demonstrate it; and it was reserved for Niebuhr to establish it by the accumulation of historical evidence.

It is manifest that the truth of such a proposition is best established by the internal evidence of the history. When we have taken a point of view, in which the whole course of the history, which before was confused and unintelligible, becomes clear; and events, which before seemed inconsequent or inconsistent, follow one another in a natural order,—it is evident that our mode of viewing them must be right. This species of evidence must be left to develop itself as we proceed in the history. The argument which may be drawn for the exclusive character of the *Comitia Curiata* from the hereditary and exclusive character of the *Gentes*, and the probability that the *Curie* were originally composed of a precise and immutable number of *Gentes*, will be made clear when we discuss the *Gentes* and the Senate. At present we will confine ourselves to a more minute species of proof, which may be deduced from the expressions of ancient writers. The later historians, whose views of the primitive constitution were vague or erroneous, in many instances copied phrases and terms from the better informed old Annalists, without being aware of their full import; and, by putting these together, we may establish a presumption of our original position, that the *Comitia Curiata* were exclusively an assembly of the Patrician order.

Dionysius states, that when the kings thought proper to call together the Patricians, they were summoned by messengers singly by their personal and paternal appellations; but that the commons were convened by the blowing of

cows' horns.\* Now, upon this passage we may observe, first, that it bears testimony to the existence of a legal Patrician assembly, summoned according to an established form. But the historians nowhere mention such an assembly by any particular name, or describe the mode of voting in it, unless we assume it to be the *Comitia Curiata*. Yet surely such an assembly, if it existed, was an important element in the constitution of the state, and must have had its proper designation; and we can scarcely imagine that all traces of its existence should have vanished from the annals. Fortunately a passage of an old writer is preserved, in which we are told, that the *Comitia Curiata* were convoked by a lictor, each *curia* by its own lictor; the *Comitia Centuriata* by a hornblower.† These testimonies, put side by side, demonstrate that the assembly to which the Patricians were convoked was really the *Comitia Curiata*.

Again, when the first Tarquinius marked out the site of the great circus for the Roman games,‡ Dionysius states that he divided the places according to the thirty *Curie*, and assigned one part to each *Curia*.§ Livy, in relating the same fact, states that he assigned places to the fathers and the knights.|| Now, as there were no Plebeian knights before the time of Servius Tullius, it follows that the terms, 'the fathers and the knights,' comprehend the Patricians; and, consequently, that assigning places to the *Curie* was the same as assigning them to the Patricians.

Our proposition is confirmed still more strongly, by a comparison of the accounts which are given by different writers of the election of the kings. Cicero states, with a precision which leaves no doubt that he followed an authority which detailed distinctly the ancient legal forms, that Numa, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, the first Tarquinius, and Servius Tullius, were each elected by the people in the *Comitia Curiata*, and then each presented to the same assembly a law which endowed him with the *imperium*, or supreme military command.¶ The very singularity

\* Dion. ii. 8.

† Lælius Felix, from Labeo, in Aul. Gell. xv. 27.

‡ See p. 19.

§ Dion. iii. 68.

|| Liv. i. 35.

¶ Cic. R. P. ii. 13, 17, 18, 20, 21. See above, chap. i. §§ 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. The *Imperium* implied more than military command over the citizens, when they were more than a mile from the city. There were "*judicia quæ imperio continentur*." See Nieb. vol. i. p. 523, note 1180.

of Rome, Niebuhr's attention was called to Vico's speculations; and it is to be regretted that he did not acknowledge their coincidence with his own researches with the same frankness with which he held up to the admiration of his readers the originality of the *Animadversions* of Perizonius, who had anticipated him in his perception of the poetical character of the early history. (See above, chap. ii. p. 54; and Nieb. vol. i. pp. 251, 252.) There is an account of Vico in the *Philological Museum*, vol. ii. pp. 626—644.

of the proceeding, that the same assembly should, in fact, confirm its own choice, is a proof that Cicero has correctly transmitted the account of the old law books. Livy and Dionysius were aware that the popular choice was subsequently ratified; but they took it for granted that the election and the ratification were the act of different bodies. Thus Livy ascribes the election to the people; the ratification to the *Patres*, or fathers, a term by which he himself probably understood the Senate, but which, in the Annalists from whom he copied, would signify the whole Patrician body.\* Dionysius, in like manner, ascribes the right of election distinctly to the people assembled in the *Comitia Curiata*: the right of ratification he assigns generally to the Senate;† but, in the case of Numa, he expressly gives it to the Patricians.‡ When we come to interpret these less exact statements by the precise language of Cicero, we perceive that the *Curiate* law concerning supreme power (*lex curiata de imperio*) was the same as the ratification of the *Patres*, or Patricians; and that the Patricians and the assembled *Curiae* were the same body.

Under the republic, this right of ratification appears in a less startling form. The election of the consuls and other national magistrates was entrusted to the *Comitia Centuriata*; but it was necessary that they should receive the *imperium*, which endowed them with the full powers of their office, by a law of the *Comitia Curiata*: and thus the *Curiae* possessed in fact the power of confirming or invalidating the previous election of the Centuries.§ But we find in a notable instance that it was the consent of the Patricians which was thus required. When the consulship was opened to the Plebeians, and L. Sextius was elected, the Patricians for some time refused their confirmation.|| It follows that the Patricians constituted the *Comitia Curiata*. We perceive, moreover, that we were right in interpreting the *Patres*, whose ratification Livy conceived to be necessary to the election of the kings,¶ to be the whole Patrician body.

It is observable that the Censors, like the other greater magistrates, were elected by the Centuries; but, as their office had no relation to military command, but specially to the arrangement of the Classes and Centuries, the law which invested them with their peculiar powers was also passed by the Centuries.\* This example of an assembly confirming its own election may assure us that Cicero was not mistaken in describing the election of the kings.

But the confirmation of the *Patres*, or the Patrician Estate, was necessary not only to give authority to the magistrates elected by the *Comitia Centuriata*, but also to give validity to laws passed by that assembly. It was not until the Publilian legislation, A.U.C. 416, that this confirmation became a mere form.† It appears from Livy, that the confirmation of elections and the ratification of laws were exercises of the same power, and pertained to the same body;‡ and as we have shown that in the confirmation of elections this body was the *Comitia Curiata*, it follows that the consent of the same assembly was necessary for the ratification of laws.

After this exposition of the mutual relation of the *Comitia* of the *Curiae* and the *Comitia* of the Centuries, we shall understand the full force of an argument, which may be drawn from the expressions of Dionysius himself, although it is in direct opposition to his more formal statements. It respects the election of Tribunes, and is very similar to that which has been alleged above from a comparison of Cicero and Livy respecting the election of consuls. When the Tribunes of the Commons were first elected, he adds, that the *Patricians* were persuaded to ratify the magistracy by a subsequent vote.§ Now the magistracy itself must have been defined, and the assent of the Patricians to its institution have been obtained, when the compact or treaty was made between the two orders, in pursuance of which the election was held. The subsequent vote therefore regarded not the office but the men, and was a ratification of their election. The Tribunes of the Commons were at first elected, like the Patrician magistrates, by the *Comitia Centuriata*; and although in

\* Liv. i. 17, 22, 32, 41.

† See Dion. iv. 12.

‡ Dion. ii. 60.

§ Cic. de Leg. Agr. c. 11. See Beaufort, République Romaine, vol. i. pp. 191-196.

|| Liv. vi. 42. *Comitia consulum habita, quibus L. Sextius primus de plebe consul factus...*

*Patricii se auctores futuros negabant.*

¶ Liv. i. 17. See below, p. 155.

\* Cic. de Leg. Agr. c. 11.

† Liv. viii. 12.

‡ Compare viii. 12 with i. 17.

§ Dion. vi. 90. *ἰπικυρώσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ψήφῳ ἐπινύκταντες.*



this case no *imperium* was to be conferred, the *Curie* claimed and exerted their usual privilege of confirming the proceedings of the Centuries.\* That this is the true interpretation of the matter appears from a subsequent passage. Some time after, by the Publilian law of A.U.C. 283, the election of the Tribunes of the Commons was transferred to the peculiar assembly of the Commons, the resolutions of which in matters concerning their own body were independent of any ratification: and then Dionysius represents the consuls as taunting the Tribunes with a want of dignity, because the *Curie* pass no subsequent vote concerning them.† In both places he uses the same phrase, which is remarkably precise. What in one passage is the subsequent vote of the Patricians, in the other is the subsequent vote of the *Curie*: and the conclusion is manifest, that the *Comitia Curiata* was an assembly of the Patricians.

The usual place of meeting for the *Comitia Curiata* was an open space called the *Comitium*, close to the Vulcanal, or Temple of Vulcan, in the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills.‡ It was contiguous to the forum, or market-place, and was sometimes comprehended under the same name. It is useful to bear in mind the distinction between the places of meeting of the several *Comitia*, as this distinction will frequently enable us to distinguish the assemblies themselves, when they are confounded by the historians. The *Comitia Centuriata*, which were a military assembly, could be held only without the city; and the customary place was the *Campus Martius*.§ The *Comitia Tributa*, the peculiar assembly of the plebeians, with which there is less danger of confounding the Patrician assembly in the *Curie*, was usually held in the forum.||

The meetings of the *Curie* were held with religious solemnity. The augurs attended to observe the auspices; and they had the power of dissolving the assembly, by declaring the omens un-

favourable. Niebuhr is of opinion that the chief pontiff presided in these *Comitia*. Whether he presided in all cases is uncertain; but it is certain that they were held by his authority, when any matter relating to the religious observances, either of the state or of particular houses, was brought before them.\* It appears that in later times the order in which the *Curie* voted was determined by lot.† But it is probable that in earlier days a fixed order was observed; at least that the *Curie* of the *Ramnes* voted first; then those of the *Titii*; and lastly those of the *Luceres*.

The Patrician citizens of Rome were all comprehended in certain bodies which were called *Gentes* (Kins or Houses).‡ The members of the same *Gens* were called *Gentiles*. In each house were contained several distinct families. It is probable that these families were originally single households; but where their numbers increased, they became families in the wider acceptation of the term. From the etymology of the term *Gens*, it is evident that a connexion by birth and kindred was held to subsist among all the members of the house. The name of the house seems always to have been derived from some mythic hero; and in the popular belief the hero from whom the house was named was regarded as a common ancestor. Thus the Julian House was regarded as the progeny of Iulus, the son of *Æneas*;§ and the Valerian House was derived from *Volesus*, a Sabine warrior and companion of *Tatius*.|| Even those whose superior information enabled them to reject these fabulous genealogies, adhered to the notion of an original connexion by birth; and a fictitious and conventional kindred was acknowledged by the members of the same house. In describing this kindred of the *Gentiles* as fictitious and conventional, we do not mean to assert that in no case did such a connexion really exist. No doubt, what were called Houses were first formed by natural

\* It is true that Dionysius describes the election of Tribunes of the Commons, as taking place originally in the *Comitia Curiata* (vi. 89; x. 41); but this, as will appear more clearly in the proper place, is only an error arising from a misconception of the right of confirmation.

† Dion. x. 4. οὕτως αἱ *φράτρες* τὴν ψῆφον ὑπὲρ μαζὴν ἐπαφίερονται.

‡ See p. 10. Varr. de LL. v. p. 154, ed. Spengel.

§ See p. 21.

|| See Nieb. vol. i. note 990.

\* See Nieb. vol. ii. p. 222, notes 501, 502; and p. 357. Dion. ix. 41, and Aul. Gell. v. 19.

† Liv. ix. 38.

‡ The word *kin* would be the most exact translation of *Gens*. But as this word is nearly obsolete, except in particular phrases, and the translators of Niebuhr have rendered *Gens* by *House*, the latter term has been adopted. See a note in the Philological Museum, No. ii. p. 348.

§ Dion. i. 70; Virg. *Æn.* vi. 739.

|| Dion. ii. 46; iv. 67. See the Remarks, p. 122 and Nieb. vol. i. p. 308, and note 802.

consanguinity.\* But it is probable that these natural alliances had suggested an artificial arrangement, and that families not akin to one another had been distributed into houses by some legislative power. This will appear certain, if we shall be convinced of the existence of the precise numerical divisions which will be explained presently. If it be true that originally each *Curia* contained ten *Gentes*, and each *Gens* ten householders, it is obvious that this exact division must have been made arbitrarily.

A precisely similar division existed among the ancient Athenians. The Eupatridæ, a body which corresponds to the Patrician order at Rome, were divided into four Phylæ, which correspond to the three Roman tribes; each Phyle into three Phratræ, which correspond to the Curiæ; and each Phratría into thirty Genea or Houses, so that the total number of Houses was three hundred and sixty. The Athenian Houses were distinguished by names of a patronymic form, which were derived from some hero or mythic ancestor. But notwithstanding this fictitious kindred, and though all the terms which expressed the relation were derived etymologically from the notion of connexion by birth, the authorities from which we draw our precise knowledge of the institution directly and pointedly deny the reality of such a connexion, and ascribe the origin of the Genea to an arbitrary division.†

We have not such positive testimony to the want of natural kindred among the families which composed the Roman *Gentes*; but we have decisive negative evidence in the fact, that Cicero, in the definition of the members of a *Gens*, which he borrowed from the Pontiff Scævola, says nothing of a common

origin. He determines, that they must bear a common name; be descended from free men; that none of their ancestors must have been in slavery; and that they must not have incurred any legal degradation.\* This definition, however, cannot be considered as a complete description of the condition of *Gentiles*. It is observable that circumstances are enumerated, which would exclude a person from Gentile privileges; but no positive bond of union is mentioned, except the bearing of a common name. This was the outward symbol of union.† But the common name was borne, not only by the Patrician members of the House, but by the Clients attached to it;‡ and in later times freed men, or emancipated slaves, bore the Gentile name of their masters, to whom they continued to be bound by ties somewhat resembling those of the clientship of earlier ages.

The great bond of union among the members of a House was a participation in its common religious rites. It seems that each House had its peculiar solemnities, which were performed at a stated time and place. The most memorable example of these observances is the exploit of C. Fabius Dorso, who, when the Capitol was besieged by the Gauls, descended from the citadel, arrayed in a religious guise, passed between the posts of the enemy to the Quirinal Hill, there performed a solemn sacrifice of the Fabian House, and returned unmolested.§ There can be no doubt that at a fitting age the children of the *Gens* were admitted to these solemnities, and publicly recognized as members of it; just as in Attica, at the feast of Apaturia, Athenian citizens of the

\* Topica, 6 (29.)

† The Romans anciently bore two names, of which the second was the name of the House, and was properly called the *nomen*; the first was a personal name, and was called *prænomen* or *forename*, as Publius Valerius, Marcus Valerius. The termination of the *nomen* was always *ius*. After a time it became usual to add a third name, *cognomen*, which probably at first was a personal distinction, but became hereditary as a family name. Thus in the name Publius Cornelius Scipio, Cornelius is the name of the *Gens*, Scipio of the family, Publius of the individual. A fourth name, *agnomen*, was sometimes added, which was always a personal distinction; as in Publius Cornelius Scipio *Æmilianus*. The *agnomen* *Æmilianus* shows that he was by birth of the *Æmilian* *Gens*, and had passed into the Cornelian by adoption.

‡ As M. Claudius, the client of Appius Claudius the decemvir. Liv. iii. 44.

§ Liv. v. 46. The Gentile rites of the Horatii are mentioned, Liv. i. 26; those of the Nautii, Dion vi. 69. Dionysius speaks of the Gentile priest-hoods, ii. 21. See Beanfort de la République Romaine, vol. i. p. 207.

\* See Dicaearchus in Steph. Byz. v. Πάτρα; The passage is cited and illustrated in the Preface of the translators of Müller's Dorians, pp. vii. xiv.

† Pollux, vii. 9. 111; Harpocration, v. γενήται; and other authorities cited by Niebuhr, vol. i. note 795. These authorities may be referred ultimately to the treatise on the Athenian Constitution in Aristotle's lost work, the *Polities*. In considering the divisions described above as pertaining only to the Eupatridæ, we are not borne out by express authority; but an attentive consideration of the subject will show that such was the case. The notion that the four Ionic tribes were castes deriving their names from their employments, is founded on nothing but bad etymologies; and the notion that the Eupatridæ, Geomori, and Demiurgi, (nobles, landholders, and artisans,) were the three Phratræ in each tribe, is futile. The Eupatridæ, Geomori, and Thetes, corresponded to the Patricians, Plebeians, and Clients at Rome.



pure blood were admitted and registered in their hereditary *Phratriæ*.

We have spoken of the *Gentes* as pertaining only to the Patricians. This is affirmed upon direct testimony.\* But in making this statement, we must bear in mind, that connexions of a similar nature subsisted among the Plebeians, which had their origin when the subject and municipal towns were independent states. The Gentile connexions of the Plebeians were older than their character as Roman citizens. Thus the *Cæcili*, though Plebeians at Rome, were Patricians of *Præneste*, and claimed as the ancestor of their House, *Cæculus*, the son of *Vulcan*.† The distinction between the Patrician and Plebeian Houses was, in the first place, that every Patrician was a member of a House, while, among the Plebeians, comparatively but few families could claim the honours of hereditary nobility, and, in the second place, that the Patrician Houses were constituent elements of the Roman State. Their existence affected the constitution of the great councils of the nation, the *Comitia Curiata*, and the Senate, and their internal laws and usages were part of the common law of the Roman people, while of the Plebeian Houses the state took no cognizance.

From the kindred, real or fictitious, which was assumed to subsist among the members of a House, it will be readily understood, that, after the Houses were once formed, they were closed against the admission of any new member. Their privileges were strictly hereditary. Foreigners or indigent citizens might attach themselves as Clients to the Houses, but the Patricians, who constituted the House, held their rank only by birth and descent. It was indeed possible for a member of a House, if he was childless, to adopt an heir, who then became a member of the House, and assumed its name. But the very process by which this was effected is a proof how jealously the Houses were closed against the admission of strangers. It follows from the definition of *Cicero*, that the free and unblemished descent of the persons to be adopted must have been first proved; and then the adoption could take place only in the presence of the *Comitia Curiata*, and by their permission;‡ so that, in fact, in

the earlier ages, the consent of the whole state was required. The utmost purity of blood was preserved in the Houses, on the mother's side no less than on the father's; and the Patrician, who wished his children to inherit his privileges, could marry none but the daughter of a Patrician family, or a woman of corresponding rank in a foreign state, with which the *Connubium*, or right of equal intermarriage, was established by national treaty. This right of intermarriage did not subsist between the Patricians and the Plebeians till the year of the city 311. Before that time the children of a Patrician by a Plebeian woman would have been Plebeians. Moreover, it was necessary for the marriages of the Patrician order to be contracted in the most solemn of all the modes in which marriage was contracted among the Romans; by the right of *Confarreation*. This was a religious ceremony performed in the presence of the *Gens*\* by the *Flamen Dialis* or the *Pontifex Maximus*, and was an adoption of the wife into the family of her husband,† and a marriage thus contracted could not be dissolved except under the same religious sanction.‡

Our information, with respect to the reciprocal obligations and duties of the members of the Houses, is very scanty and imperfect. It appears that when a wife violated her duty to her husband, the members of the House sat in judgment upon her together with her husband;§ and it is probable that the same Gentile tribunal moderated the excess of the power of a father over his son.|| The members of the Houses were bound to assist each other with their substance in case of need. Thus, in ancient times, they would ransom their fellows who were prisoners of war.¶

\* It was probably because the *Gens* originally consisted of ten householders that the presence of ten witnesses was always required at a marriage by confarreation.

† See p. 11, and *Dion* ii. 25. *Serv.* on *Virg. Georg.* i. 31.

‡ *Festus* v. *Diffarreatio*.

§ *Dion* ii. 25. *ταῦτα δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός ἰδινάζον.*

|| *Dionysius* (ii. 15.) states, that according to the immemorial laws ascribed to *Romulus*, if a Roman citizen had a deformed or monstrous child born to him, he was allowed to expose it, if he first showed it to the five men dwelling nearest to him, and obtained their consent. If a *Gens* originally consisted of ten householders, as will be shown presently, this seems as if a member of the *Gens* were obliged to obtain the consent of the *Gens*, that is, of the majority of the other nine members of it, before he could expose his offspring.

¶ *Nieb.* vol. i., p. 312, note 814.

\* *Liv.* x. 8. *vos solos gentem habere.* See *Nieb.* vol. i. p. 316, note 821.

† See p. 36.

‡ See *Aul. Gell.* v. 19.

They contributed to bear the expenses of public offices and other burthens imposed by the state.\* They assisted in the payment of large judicial fines,† and we may fairly conclude by analogy, that they were sureties one for the other.‡ It appears likewise, that if any member of a House died intestate, and without natural heirs, his *Gentiles* succeeded to his property.§

The nature of the Roman *Gentes* may be illustrated in some points by the analogy of the Gaelic Clans. All who belonged to the *Gens*, or to the Clan, bore a common name. But as the Clan contained not only the freemen or gentlemen of the Clan, the *Duinheवास*s, who were the companions of the chief and the warriors of the clan, but also their dependents, to whom was left their scanty tillage and the keeping of the cattle, and who, if ever they were called to follow the warlike array of the Clan, were imperfectly armed, and placed in the hindmost ranks; so the Roman *Gens* consisted of the free-born Patricians and of their Clients. And our theory, that notwithstanding the conventional kindred of the *Gentiles*, the *Gentes* were really, in many cases, composed of families which had no natural consanguinity, but had been arbitrarily arranged in them, will appear less strange when we remember, that not only the *Duinheवास*s, but the meanest followers of a Highland Clan, claim kindred with their chief, although, in many cases, it may be shown by the strictest historical evidence that the chief and his blood relations are of an entirely different race from the rest of the Clan. The clansmen are Gaels or Celts, while the chief is not unfrequently of Norman descent.

We have before intimated the opinion, that a precise number of *Gentes* was contained in each *Curia*. This view is strongly supported by the analogy of the ancient Athenian constitution. But there are statements of the historians which throw some light upon the point. Dionysius, after describing the Tribes and *Curiae*, proceeds to state, that the *Curiae* were divided into *Decuries*, or bodies of ten, at the head of each of which was an officer, who was called *Decurion*.|| Now these bodies of ten

must be considered as containing, not merely ten persons, but ten householders or heads of families. It was not in the spirit of the legislation of antiquity to descend to individuals as the elements of the state. The household was always considered as the ultimate constituent part.\* Now, if these *Decuries* were collections of families, as the *Gentes* were certainly collections of families, the conjecture is not improbable, that these *Decuries* were the same as the *Gentes*. Dionysius has not assigned any fixed number of *Decuries* to each *Curia*; but as the tribe was divided into ten *Curiae*, and the ultimate division was a *Decury*, a body of ten families, it seems likely that the decimal division prevailed throughout, and that there were ten *Decuries* in a *Curia*. This would make the tribe to consist of a thousand householders. This reckoning accords with a tradition which has been preserved by Plutarch, and which must be interpreted of the earliest times, when the Roman people consisted of the single tribe of the Romans. He says, that at the first building of Rome the number of houses did not exceed a thousand.† It accords likewise with the statement of Dionysius, who, as we have before observed, believed the three Tribes and the thirty *Curiae* to have existed from the very beginning of the city. He says, that the first settlers at Rome with Romulus were not more than three thousand foot soldiers, and fewer than three hundred horsemen.‡ Of both these accounts we may observe, that the vagueness of expression has been introduced by the later writers, who repeated them, and who thus sought to give an appearance of truth to what they thought the too precise statements of the old books, not perceiving that what the old books presented as a statement of facts was not an historical record of events, but an account of the idea or theory of the primitive constitution. We may remark likewise on the statement of Dionysius, that, in the

\* Dion. ii. 10.

† Nieb. vol. i., note 813.

‡ See Nieb. vol. ii., p. 289.

§ Nieb. vol. i., p. 311. See Cic. de Orat. ii. 139; de Invent. ii. 50.

|| Dion. ii. 7.

\* Aristot. Pol. i. 2. There is a strong probability, that anciently in Rome a man did not enjoy the full privileges of a citizen during the lifetime of his father, unless he married, and so became the head of a separate household. At least there was a law, so ancient as to be ascribed to Numa, that if a father permitted his son to marry a wife by the sacred rite of confarreation, the father should no longer have the right of selling his son (Dion. ii. 27, see p. 11). A son, who was liable to be sold, and who could hold no property in his own right, was scarcely a citizen.

† Plat. Rom.

‡ Dion. ii. 16.



earlier ages of the ancient republics, every citizen was a soldier, so that the number of men bearing arms, and the number of householders, is one and the same.\* Varro states precisely that each of the three tribes furnished a thousand soldiers.† From these passages, which assign a thousand citizens to a tribe, we may fairly collect that there were a hundred householders, or ten Decuries, in each Curia. But in another passage it is implied still more clearly. Dionysius, commending the military organization established by Romulus, says, that it was not necessary when an army was to be led out, then for the first time to appoint commanders of a thousand, according to the Tribes (Tribunes), or *Commanders of a Hundred (Centurions) according to the Curia*; but the King gave his orders to the commanders of a thousand; they to the leaders of the Curia, and they to the decurions or commanders of ten.‡ The same fact, that the Curio in his military capacity was called a Centurion, and was the commander of a hundred men, is attested likewise by another authority.§ If, therefore, the decuries were really Gentes, it follows that there were ten Gentes in each Curia.

If we consider the Gentes as a subdivision of the Curia and Tribes, and bear in mind their strictly hereditary nature, we shall understand the statement of an old writer,|| that in the Comitia Curiata the suffrages were given according to genealogical descent; and we shall perceive the justness of the distinction drawn by Dionysius, when he describes the ancient tribes as genealogical, in opposition to the local Plebeian tribes established by Servius Tullius.¶

The Senate, according to every au-

thority, was originally composed of a hundred chief men of the Patrician order, who had passed the age of military service\*. Livy and other writers describe them as nominated by the King. Dionysius alone speaks of a popular election; but as he was prepossessed with the erroneous notion, that the three Tribes and the thirty Curia existed from the very beginning of the city, he had the difficult problem before him, to account for the election of a hundred Senators out of these elements, the numbers of which stand in no obvious relation to the number of the Senate. He has acquitted himself of his task very ingeniously. He supposes the first senator, or chief of the Senate, to have been nominated by Romulus; then each Tribe to have elected three, who, with the chief, made the body of the Ten First, to whom precedence was assigned; and then each Curia to have elected three, who made up the hundred. This scheme falls to the ground with the false hypothesis on which it rests. There were a hundred senators, before the addition of the second tribe: and Dionysius himself agrees with other writers in representing the number of the Senate as doubled after the union of the people of Tatiush with the people of Romulus†. Livy alone says nothing of this augmentation of the Senate after the Sabine war. It follows, therefore, that each Tribe was represented by a hundred senators. The third Tribe, the Luceres, who stood on a lower footing than the other two, had as yet no part in the Senate. Their representatives were admitted for the first time by the elder Tarquinius. These were the hundred Senators, the Fathers of the Less Houses, by whose elevation he began his reign, and thus filled up the number of three hundred, which long remained the established complement of the Roman Senate.

If each Tribe was represented by a hundred Senators, the conjecture is obvious, that each Curia was represented by ten. This is in strict agreement with the representation of Livy, when he describes the interregnum after the death of Romulus; that the hundred Senators (a hundred according to his view) were divided into ten decuries‡.

\* See p. 11. The accounts which the historians give of the *Celeres*, Horsemen or Knights, will be examined presently, see p. 146.

† De Lin. Lat. iv. p. 23. (v. 16. ed. Spengel). See also Dion. Cass. Frag. 1.

‡ Dion. ii. 14. οὗτοι εκατοντάρχους κατὰ λόχους, whom he afterwards calls λοχαγοί. In ii. 7. Dionysius expressly uses the Greek military term *lochus*, as equivalent to Curia, and *lochagus*, or leader of a *lochus*, as equivalent to Curio, the commander of a curia. This is with reference to the military array of the curia, for as a civil division he always calls the Curia *Phratra*.

§ Lydus de Magistr. 1. 9. cited by Nieb. vol. i., note 839.

|| Lælius Felix in A. Gellius xv. 27, cited by Nieb. vol. i. note 842. Cum ex generibus hominum suffragium feratur, curiata comitia esse: cum ex censu et ætate, centuriata: cum ex regionibus et locis, tributa.

¶ Dion. iv. 14.

\* Festus, v. *Senatores*: Non vocantur Senatores, ante quam in Senioribus sunt censi. See Nieb. vol. i. note 832; vol. ii. p. 113.

† Dion. ii. 47.

‡ Liv. i. 17.

Dionysius, who acknowledges two hundred senators at this time, likewise represents them as divided into decads.\* Of course, each decury of the senate corresponds to a Curia. But this investigation may be carried yet further. If we were right in supposing that each Curia was divided into ten decuries, then, since the Curia was represented by ten senators, each senator represented a decury, and was, in fact, the decurion who stood at the head of the decury. This theory of the constitution of the senate is established almost with perfect certainty by the analogy of the little senates of the colonies and provincial towns. These were formed upon the model of Rome; and in them each senator was expressly called a *Decurion*, upon the principle that the Senate consisted of a tenth part of the citizens.† If then it be true that the decuries were the same as the Gentes, and the decurion the head of the Gens, it follows that the Senate was composed of the representatives of the Gentes; at first only of the Gentes of the Ramnes; then of the Gentes of the Ramnes and Thienses; and lastly of the three hundred Gentes of all the three Tribes. That the senators were thus immediately connected with the Gentes is made more clear by the distinction set up between the senators of the two elder Tribes, and the senators of the third Tribe, as the fathers of the major Gentes, and the fathers of the minor Gentes.

The ancient division of the Athenian Eupatridæ into Phylæ, Phratræ, and Genea, has been adduced in illustration of the division of the Roman patricians into Tribes, Curia and Gentes. The constitution of the Roman Senate may be illustrated in like manner by the constitution of the ancient Athenian *Boule* or Senate: but almost every record of this has been obliterated; and before we can make use of the analogy, we must restore the lineaments which time has effaced. After the democratical revolution in the Athenian commonwealth, which was effected by Cleisthenes, when the four genealogical Tribes were abolished, and the ten local Tribes established, the Senate consisted of five hundred members, fifty from each tribe. The senators of each tribe held precedence and superior authority

in turn, under the name of Prytanes, for periods of thirty-five days; so as to complete the lunar year of 354 days, with the exception of the odd four days. Each body of Prytanes was divided into five divisions of ten each, called *Proëdri*, who held precedence for a period of seven days: and the several *Proëdri* had the custody of the public treasury and kept the public seal, with the title of *Epistates*, each for a single day; so that in each *Proëdria* three were excluded from this high distinction. Now, the authorities which give us the account of this arrangement are very precise: but there is a want of congruity in the times and numbers, which makes the whole system appear clumsy, and which forces upon the mind the suspicion, or rather the conviction, that this arrangement was not first made, when the Senate of five hundred was constituted, but was an ancient form preserved under circumstances to which it could not be exactly fitted. When we consider that the four ancient Phylæ were divided into twelve Phratræ, and the Phratræ into 360 Genea, thirty in each; and when we remember, on the other hand, that the Athenians, before Solon introduced the lunar year, reckoned a year of 360 days,\* and that at all times they continued to divide their months into three portions of ten days each; the conclusion seems inevitable, that the ancient Senate consisted of 360 members, one for each Genos; that the twelve Phratræ corresponded to the twelve months, and that the representatives of each Phratræ were Prytanes for a month; that the thirty Prytanes were divided into three bodies of *Proëdri*, ten in each, who held their office for the third part of a month; and that each senator was *Epistates* in turn for a single day†. If this view be true, each Genos was represented in the Senate; and so we conceive each Gens to have been represented in the Roman Senate.

The testimony of Livy is express, that in each body of ten Senators was one of higher rank than the rest; and if the ten Senators were the decurions of

\* Compare Diog. Laert. i. 59, and Herod. i. 32.

† Plutarch states that Solon established a senate of four hundred, a hundred from each Tribe. Even if this assertion be exactly true (and Plutarch is the only authority for it), it proves nothing with regard to the constitution of the Senate in the flourishing days of the aristocracy, before Solon introduced his reformation into the commonwealth.

\* Dion. ii. 57.

† Cic. pron. Sext. c. 4. Epist. vi. 18. Pompon. Dig. l. ult. tit. penult. leg. 239.



their several decuries, then their chief must have represented the Curia, and probably in the earliest age of the constitution was the Curio. The Ten Chiefs of the Senators of the first tribe held the supreme power in an interregnum; and each of them bore the ensigns of royalty for five days, and during that time was called the Interrex\*. But these Ten Chiefs (*Decem Primi*) not only held this supremacy when the commonwealth was without a King, but at all times enjoyed a marked pre-eminence. Even in a later age, when the constitution of the Senate had gradually undergone a considerable change, there were always ten senators who bore this honourable title. At the great crisis of the Roman history, the secession of the plebeians, the ambassadors of the patrician order were the Ten Chiefs of the Senate†. We find traces of the same distinction among the Latins‡; and it was expressly imitated in the Senates of the colonies and the municipal towns§.

At the head of the Senate was a Chief Senator, who not only presided in council, but was the lieutenant or deputy of the King, and whenever the King was absent in war, administered justice in the city, and provided for all sudden emergencies||. That the office at first pertained to the tribe of the Ramnes is evident, not only from what has been said of the Ten Chiefs, but from the very name which tradition has handed down as the name of the Senator who held this dignity under Romulus, Denter Romulus¶. Afterwards however, as it is evident that the Interrex must have been the President of the Senate, we may perceive by the account of the interregal power that this office was held

in turn by each of the Ten Chiefs. The tradition that Tullus Hostilius bestowed this dignity on Numa Marcius, the husband of the daughter of Numa Pompilius and the father of Ancus Marcius, is evidence of a still further change, by which the Senators of the second tribe were admitted to a place among the Ten Chiefs, and even to the dignity of First Senator\*. No further change can be traced under the kings. Spurius Lucretius held the office at the time of the expulsion of Tarquinius†. In the early years of the republic it appears that the Ten Chiefs were ten Senators of the Major Gentes who had held the office of Consul; and one of these was nominated by the Consuls when they quitted the city‡, and became the Guardian or Warden of the city, (*Custos Urbis*.) In the twenty-third year of the republic the wardenship was made an elective office. It would lead us too far beyond our present purpose to explain how the Prætorship of the city sprung out of this magistracy; and how the dignity of Chief of the Senate (*Princeps Senatûs*) became a totally distinct honour, assigned in a manner suited to the actual state of the constitution. The office of Prefect of the City (*Prefectus Urbis*), which was established under the emperors for the administration of the police of the capital, and which Tacitus compares with the ancient office of Warden of the City, as it existed under the kings and the early consuls, bears an apparent resemblance to it; but it was altogether a new function, and not connected with the old magistracy by any gradual series of constitutional changes§.

The Senate was convoked by the King; and it seems, that they could deliberate only upon such matters as the King brought before them. In all the ordinary measures of the executive government, their authority was supreme, and their resolution final. But the enactment and the repeal of laws, the election of civil magistrates and of military commanders, and the power of declaring war and making peace, was reserved to the people assembled in the Comitia Curiata||. But, even on these

\* See Livy, i. 17. Dionysius (ii. 57) has confounded the body of the ten chiefs with the several decuries of which they were the chiefs; and thus has represented every single senator as holding the office of Interrex in turn. This view is erroneous. The utmost extent to which the inferior senators of the decury participated in the interregal power is that which is defined in chap. i. § 5; and perhaps even there the misconception of Dionysius has been suffered to modify too far the precise statement of Livy. It should have been observed also, that the interreges were taken only from the original Senate of one hundred. This is Livy's notion, and it is confirmed by the expression of Dionysius, iii. 1 (*ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*). See Nieb. vol. ii. p. iii. note 237.

† Dion. vi. 84. See in Nieb. vol. ii. the section "On the office of warden of the city," and especially pp. 114, 117.

‡ Liv. viii. 3.

§ See Nieb. vol. i. pp. 299–300, and note 784. Cic. pro Sext. Rosc. c. 9.

|| Dion. ii. 12. Tac. Annal. vi. 11.

¶ Tacitus. See Nieb. vol. ii. p. 111.

\* Tac. and Nieb. as before.

† Tac. and Liv. i. 59.

‡ "Dein consules mandabant." Tacit.

§ See the section in Niebuhr's second volume cited above.

|| Dion. ii. 14, iv. 20, vi. 66.

subjects, the Senate possessed a very high authority; for the popular assembly could not entertain any question, till it was formally laid before them by a previous resolution of the Senate.\* Even in the election of a King, or of any other magistrate, the power of the assembly of the *Curiae* was restricted to approving or rejecting the person nominated by the Senate.† As the people assembled in the *Curiae* was merely the Patrician order, and the senate was composed of the most eminent Patricians, we may readily conceive that the assembly rarely dissented from the Senate; especially, when, in consequence of the growth of the Plebeian Estate, the Patricians ceased to constitute the Commonwealth, and a jealousy of the Plebeians became the dominant feeling of their order.‡ All the heads of the *Gentes* voted in the Senate: the householders, members of the *Gentes*, voted in the *Curiae*. Niebuhr conceived that the votes taken in the *Curiae* were not the votes of individuals, but the votes of the *Gentes*:§ but this seems very improbable, if the *Gentes* were also expressly represented in the Senate. The vote of a *Gens* could be given in no way but through the head or decurion of the *Gens*; and it is scarcely conceivable that the same person should vote as a representative in the Senate, and as a delegate in the *Curiae*. Besides, such a mode of taking the votes would not have escaped mention. It is of more importance to notice the mistake of Dionysius, who, in his formal account of the constitution, inverts the order of proceeding of the two bodies, and states that the resolutions of the *Curiae* were not valid till they were confirmed by the Senate.|| He has confounded distinct assemblies, and has been misled by the allusions which he found in the annals, to the order of transacting public business after the introduction of the *Comitia Centuriata*, and the *Comitia Tributa*. The elections of the Centuries were not valid, as we have seen above, till the magistrate elected received the *Imperium* from the *Curiae*; and the resolution for granting the *Imperium* must have been introduced to the *Curiae* by a previous vote of the Senate. The *Comi-*

*tia Tributa*, the peculiar assembly of the Plebeian tribes, at its first origin could take no part in matters pertaining to the whole nation: and when at length it was permitted to discuss them, its resolutions had no effect at all, unless they were adopted by the Senate and the sovereign assembly. In this manner, the resolutions of these bodies needed the confirmation of the Senate; but, in the original assembly of the *Curiae*, the vote of the Senate was certainly the initiative step.\*

In the examination of the primitive forms of the Roman constitution, some embarrassment has been caused by the mention of the three hundred *Celeres*. The historians speak of these as a body guard, who were around the person of the King, and always ready to execute his commands.† Yet, in after times, when the *Equites* or Knights were an honourable and privileged class in the state, inferior only to the Senatorian rank, the Roman antiquaries agreed in tracing their origin to the *Celeres* of Romulus.‡ It is remarkable, however, that Livy, before he mentions the institution of the *Celeres*, relates, as a distinct event, the enrolment of three Centuries of horsemen or Knights; and it is still more worthy of observation, that he places the enrolment of these three Centuries immediately after the termination of the Sabine war of Romulus, and describes them as the Centuries of the *Ramnenses*, *Titienses*, and *Luceres*:§ while it is only incidentally, at a later period, that we learn from him the fact, which other writers state expressly, that these were the names of the three ancient tribes of the nation.|| It is difficult to judge, whether Livy really intended to distinguish between the *Celeres* and the *Equites* or Knights; or whether from carelessness he copied two different accounts of the same institution from different annalists. However this may be, we know that the tribune of the *Celeres* was a magistrate, who had the power of convoking the people to the *Comitia Curiate*. In this capacity Brutus summoned the assembly which deprived Tarquinus of his kingdom.¶ The office of *Magister Equitum*, or Master of the Knights, under the Dictators in the time of the Repub-

\* Dion. vii. 38. ix. 41. Nieb. vol. ii. note 393.

† See Nieb. vol. i. p. 335; and Dion. ii. 58. iii. 36. iv. 8. See also Nieb. vol. ii. pp. 177-179.

‡ See Diodorus, xiv. 113, and Nieb. vol. ii., note 392.

§ Nieb. vol. i. p. 327.

|| Dion. ii. 14.

\* See Nieb. vol. ii. pp. 220, 221.

† Liv. i. 15; Dion. ii. 13; Plut. Num.

‡ Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 2.; Festus, v. *Celeres*.

§ Liv. i. 13.

|| Liv. x. 6.

¶ Liv. i. 59; Dion. iv. 71.



lic, was considered as bearing an analogy to that of the Tribune of the Celeres under the kings.\* Dionysius, who alone speaks of the Tribunes of the Celeres as more than one, enumerates them among the Colleges of Priests, as charged with the performance of certain sacred rites. This power and priestly character, as Niebuhr observes, are inconsistent with the office of captain of a mere body guard.

Niebuhr conjectured that anciently *Celeres* was the general name of the whole Patrician order, as distinguished from the rest of the nation; and that the Tribunes of the Celeres were the Tribunes of the three Patrician Tribes, of whom a marked pre-eminence was assigned to the Tribune of the First Tribe;† and he conceived that the Tribes might be called Centuries, as in the account followed by Livy, inasmuch as each contained a hundred Houses or Gentes.‡ In making this conjecture, he must have supposed that the tradition of the three hundred guards arose from a misapprehension of the term *Centuries*, as Centuries of individuals; and that the term *Celeres* was not originally synonymous with *Equites*, horsemen or Knights, but came to be so considered at a later time, when, by the constitution of Servius Tullius, the infantry was drawn from the Plebeian order; and all the Patricians were ranged among the *Equites*, who were required to serve on horseback.

Perhaps we may be guided to a more probable conjecture, by attending more exactly to the account of Dionysius. He states that the *Celerii* § were “three hundred men in the vigour of life, from the most illustrious houses, whom the Curia nominated in the same manner in which they nominated the Senators, each Curia ten young men.” We have seen that the Senators were the heads and representatives of the Gentes, assembled to form the great Council of the nation. The people of antiquity looked for wisdom in age; and it is manifest, that the original Senators were men who had passed the time of military service. The very etymology of their name has reference to their age.¶ Now it is likely that, in the same manner, each Gens had its head and leader in

war; and these leaders might be embodied in one company, and constitute either a military council or a select band for services of special trust. In this case, they would be distinguished by a peculiar name; and they would naturally be divided into three Centuries, each bearing the name of the tribe from which it was taken. As military service on horseback was always a mark of superior rank in the ancient Commonwealths, the leaders might be mounted, while their *Gentiles* fought on foot, and thus be employed in war as a body of cavalry. In after times, when the Plebeians were numerous enough to furnish the infantry of the army, all the Patricians would claim a right to serve in the more honourable manner; and thus the peculiar distinction of the select band composed of the leaders of the Houses would become obsolete. If this hypothesis of the constitution of the Celeres be true, the Tribunes of the Celeres may have been the same as the Tribunes of the Tribes; and even if these dignities were distinct, we can easily understand that they were officers of high trust and power.

The relation which subsisted between the individual Patricians, as Patrons, and their dependents or Clients, has already been described in general terms.\* It was the duty of the Patron to expound the laws to his Clients, to watch over their interests, and to protect them from all injustice, especially in their dealings and money matters. The Client could neither sue nor be sued in his own name; but in all cases his Patron appeared for him. Frequently also the patrons granted lands to their Clients;† but it cannot be doubted that in this case a portion of the produce was reserved to the patron. Nor were these grants perpetual. Assuredly the land might be resumed at pleasure: otherwise the client would have become independent of his patron. On the other hand, the Client was bound to uphold the honour of his Patron; in common with his kinsmen and the members of his House, to assist him in bearing the charges of office in the Commonwealth and all other public burthens; to contribute towards portioning his daughters; to ransom him or his children if they be-

\* Nieb. vol. i. p. 515; and Pomponius in a note of the Translators.

† Vol. i. p. 325.

‡ Ib. p. 313.

§ So Dionysius writes the name, ii. 13.

¶ Dion. ii. 12. Varro, de LL. v. p. 156. ed. Spengel. Cic. R. P. ii. 28. Festus, v. *Senatores*. See above, p. 143.

\* The account of the relative duties of the Patrons and Clients is taken from Dion. ii. 9—11, except where a special reference is given. See also Ant. Gell. v. 13.

† Festus in Nieb. vol. i. note 830. See also p. 319; and vol. ii. p. 147.

came prisoners of war; and to pay all public fines and damages in private suits to which he might become liable. Thus the fine imposed on Camillus was defrayed by his *Gentiles* and Clients.\* The Client was capable of acquiring property and of transmitting it; but, if he died without heirs, his Patron inherited.† The Client could not accuse his Patron, nor bear witness against him, nor in any way appear against him in any judicial proceeding. We are told, on the other hand, that the Patron could not accuse nor bear witness against his Client. Of course, if the offence of the Client were committed against any other person, since his Patron was his legal defender, he could not be called to testify against him. But if the Client were guilty of an offence against his Patron himself, his Patron did not accuse him, because the state did not interfere in this relation. The Patron himself was his judge; and it appears that, anciently, he held the power of life and death over his Clients.‡ From this statement of the mutual relation, it is manifest that the wealth of the Patricians depended very much upon the number and wealth of their Clients; and that the Clients, by the powerful protection of their Patrons, were shielded from wrong from any other quarter. But the question remains, what protection they enjoyed against the abuse of the arbitrary power of their Patrons, since the civil tribunals did not interpose for their defence. Their protection was the religious responsibility under which the Patrons exercised their power. It is said, that, if either party wronged the other, he was devoted, as a traitor, to the Infernal Jupiter.§ This solemn curse was a sentence of outlawry; and the person thus accursed might be slain with impunity. Probably it was the Pontiff who had power thus to devote the offender. It is likely that this was the sanction which armed the Patron with the power of life and death over his Client. But it is difficult to believe that the curse was ever actually pronounced upon an unrighteous Patron. However, if we may believe the tradition of the unbroken good will of the Patrons and Clients, this religious check sufficed for its purpose. Much, indeed, may be ascribed to the interest of the Patrons, which was clearly involved

in the well-being of their Clients; and still more to the political changes, which, in course of time, made the Client valuable to the Patricians, both by their physical strength and by their votes, as a counterbalance to the Plebeians.\*

The Clientship was hereditary. We may affirm this fearlessly, not only upon sufficient authority; but from the analogy of similar institutions in all parts of the world. The notion that successive generations of Clients remained attached to the same Patrician family only from affection and by free choice, and that the connexion was originally formed by the free choice of the Client, arose from looking only at a single species of Clientship of more recent origin; that by which a foreigner, settling at Rome, chose a patron to whom he attached himself, just as an alien at Athens chose a Prostates among the citizens, who was his legal representative. Even the connexion thus formed was hereditary.† Whole towns and communities, which became subject to Rome, either attached themselves or were attached by the authority of the state to individual Patrons; and this honourable connexion subsisted unbroken through successive generations.‡ Household slaves, when they were emancipated, undoubtedly became Clients. This attachment of freedmen to their former masters was the species of the connexion which endured longest. In fact, it lasted, in a mitigated form, as long as the Roman state itself.§ It is obvious that, in the way last mentioned, Plebeian citizens might have their Clients; and, when the Plebeian estate was raised to a level with the Patricians, foreigners might attach themselves to powerful Plebeians; but the original Clientship, under the solemn religious sanction which has been described above, subsisted only in dependence upon members of the patrician houses.

We can give no historical account of the origin of this primitive Clientship, but its nature may be illustrated by the analogy of similar institutions in other nations. In several states of Greece we find a class of bondmen or serfs, who must be carefully distinguished from domestic slaves. The great general distinction is, that the bondmen neither

\* See the remarks on the Etruscan Serfs, pp. 90, 91.

† See Nieb. vol. i. pp. 318, 319.

‡ See Beaufort, *De la République Romaine*, vol. i. p. 164.

§ See above, p. 140.

\* Liv. v. 32., and Dion. Excerpt. xiii. 5.

† Nieb. vol. i. p. 320. ‡ Nieb. vol. i. p. 320.

§ Compare Virg. *Æn.* vi. 609.



were purchased for money, nor could they be sold separately from the land to which they were attached by hereditary servitude. In other respects their condition differed in different countries, and was usually worst where the system of society was most aristocratical. The bondmen of Sparta were the Helots. They were attached to the estates of the Spartans; and as the Spartan citizens had no occupation but war, and never employed themselves in agriculture, the Helots cultivated their lands, and paid them a fixed measure of the produce. Though no right of property in the persons of the Helots existed in individual Spartans, they were considered as the property of the state, and used without mercy as political exigencies were thought to require. The Doric settlers in Crete held in bondage a similar caste, which was called the *Mnoïa*. The agricultural servitude of the *Mnoïtæ* to their warlike lords is attested by the song of Hybrias.\* The Argives in like manner had their *Gymnesii*. Dionysius himself compares the condition of the Clients to that of the Thessalian Serfs, the *Penestæ*, although he states, at the same time, that these unhappy bondmen, who were more degraded than any similar class in Greece, except the Helots, were subject to blows and other indignities like purchased slaves.† He compares them likewise to the more fortunate Attic *Thetes*. His distinct testimony to the ancient bondage of the *Thetes* is exceedingly valuable in illustration of Athenian history. We collect from Plutarch that the *Thetes* cultivated the lands of the wealthy *Eupatridæ*, and paid them a sixth part of the produce, and that in default of payment their persons were liable to seizure.‡ Solon first admitted them to a participation in the privileges of citizens; and as his fourth class in the division of the Athenian people bore the name of *Thetes*, it may be fairly surmised that it was mainly composed of them. Now, in all these instances, we have reason to con-

clude that the servitude of the bondmen was the effect of conquest. All accounts agree that this was the origin of the bondage of the Helots, though they vary in the circumstances of the tradition. Upon examination it appears that the first Helots were the lowest class of the ancient population of the country, when the Dorian conquerors took possession of it; and that, as these new masters extended and established their dominion, they degraded others of the old inhabitants to the same condition. A similar account is to be given of the bondmen of the ruling Dorian people in Argos, and other states of the Peloponnesus. The *Mnoïa* in Crete consisted of the earlier population of the island reduced by the Doric settlers. The *Penestæ* in Thessaly were the remains of the old Æolian inhabitants, who did not migrate into Bœotia, when their country was overrun by the Thessali from Thesprotis.\* There is no historical tradition of the origin of the servitude of the Attic *Thetes*: but if this were a fit occasion to enter into the arguments which tend to show that the Ionian *Eupatridæ* were a ruling military caste, it might appear probable that the tillers of their land were the old Pelasgian population reduced by conquest. Again, when the Greeks settled colonies in barbarous countries, they frequently reduced the natives to a similar state of bondage. Thus the Greeks of Heracleia, on the Pontus, had their bondmen, the native *Mariandyni*, whom they were bound by treaty never to sell out of the country. The Greek colonies in southern Italy had *Ænotrian* or *Pelasgian* serfs,† and the *Syracusans* had their *Cyllyrii*, who were undoubtedly Sicels. In Italy, as we have shown in chap. iii. § 6., the ruling Etruscan people had their *Penestæ* or *Serfs*, who were a portion of the subjugated *Tyrsenians*. With these analogous cases to guide our conjectures, we can form a general notion of the origin of the Roman Clientship, though we have no historical knowledge of it. The relation was of a milder character than in any of the examples we have enumerated, except perhaps the condition of the Attic *Thetes*; and it was honourably distinguished by the religious protection extended to the weaker party. It was probably fortunate for the Client that no distinction was made between the legal condition of the hereditary de-

\* See the original and a spirited translation in the Edinburgh Review, No. CXII., p. 371. Müller thinks that the *Mnoïtæ* were properly public bondmen who cultivated the public lands, and that the bondmen attached to the property of individuals had a distinct name. Dor. iii. 4. § 1.

† Dion. ii. 9. The *Penestæ* could not be put to death without trial; and they were attached, like the clients, to particular families. Müll. Dor. iii. 4 § 6.

‡ Plut. Sol. See also Hesych. v. *ἑπτήμοροι*, and Etym. Gud. v. *ἑλωταις*.

\* Archemachus in Athen. vi., p. 264. † See p. 80.

pendent and of the foreigner who voluntarily sought protection. The consideration due to the latter was extended to the former, and thus the general character of the Clientship was mitigated. It is not unimportant to observe that both the terms which express the relation of the superior and inferior party are of Pelasgian origin.\*

The Clients were the only shopkeepers and chapmen of ancient Rome, and exercised all mechanical arts and trades. Plutarch has preserved a tradition, that Numa divided the artisans into guilds or companies, according to their trades, which had their halls and meetings. If this division really existed, it affected the Clients who were settled in the town, and were less immediately subject to their Patrons than the tillers of the soil. The account receives some confirmation from the fact, that in the general distribution of the people into Centuries under Servius Tullius, certain Centuries were formed of such mechanics as would be serviceable in military operations.

From the investigations which have been pursued thus far, the constitution of the body of Patrician citizens is in general sufficiently manifest. It remains for us, first, to point out some inequalities which subsisted within the body itself; and then more particularly to illustrate the relative position in which the Patricians stood, as originally constituting the state, and continuing to be the ruling body in the state, when, besides their Clients, the independent order of Plebeian citizens grew up beneath them; and especially to elucidate their claim to the possession of the Public Lands.

From the account which we have given of the formation of the three Patrician Tribes, it is evident that the Ramnes were regarded as the original stock of the nation; and for some time after the union of the Titienses, a certain precedence and some peculiar honours were allowed to the elder tribe.† They possessed a substantial pre-eminence in power, so long as the Ten Chiefs of the Senate were the Ten Chiefs of their tribe, the heads of their Curiae.‡ The period of the equalization of the Titienses and Ramnes is described in the Ro-

man Annals as the reign of Numa.§ From this time these two Tribes stand on an equal footing, and hold a marked superiority over the third Tribe.

The Luceres, the Tribe of the Cælian, appear at first as dependents on the Ramnes of the Palatine. As a subject Tribe, not admitted to participate in the government, they would stand to the other two tribes in a relation somewhat like that in which the Plebeian Estate stood afterwards to the whole Patrician body. It was this position of the Luceres which was intended, when it was stated that, with regard to the very earliest age, some correction was necessary to the general assertion, that the original population of Rome consisted only of Patricians and their Clients. They were not Clients; and it seems that originally they could not be accounted Patricians. They appear to have been received into the Patriciate by Tullus Hostilius, or, if we doubt his individual existence, at least in the period designated as his reign. We have already explained that this is the change described as the admission of the Alban Houses to the Patriciate,† and still more precisely as the addition of ten troops to the Knights. These ten troops correspond to the Ten Curiae of the elevated tribe.‡ They were not, however, raised to an equality with the two older tribes. Notwithstanding the mention of the Senate in the tradition of the Alban Houses, it is manifest that the Luceres were not immediately admitted into that supreme council. The Senate continued to consist only of the two hundred representatives of the Ramnes and Titienses, till a hundred new members were added to it by the elder Tarquinius. These were the representatives of the Luceres, and their inferiority is marked by their distinctive appellation as Fathers of the Minor Gentes; nor was their inferiority merely nominal. We have the express statement of Cicero, that the Senators of the Less Houses were called to vote after those of the Greater Houses.§ This testimony of Cicero is confirmed by the expressions of Dionysius.|| But from the latter writer we can deduce the existence of a still more important distinction, that the senators of the Less Houses had only the right of voting in silence, but not the right of speaking in

\* *Patronus* from *pater*, father; *Clients*, that is, *cluens*, participle from *cluere*, to hear.

† Dion. ii. 47, 57, 62. See Nieb. vol. i., pp. 299, 300, and note 1143.

‡ See above, p. 145.

• See above, § 8, p. 126.

† Dion. iii. 29. ‡ See above, § 9, pp. 127, 129.

§ Cic. R. P. ii. 20. || Dion. vi. 69.



the Senate, unless they had held the office of Consul.\*

Niebuhr has shown also that the inferiority of the third Tribe appeared in the distribution of religious dignities.† In these we frequently find, so far as we can judge from the numbers, that the two elder Tribes were represented, but the third excluded. It is true, that of the three Flamens, the priests of the three national deities, one pertained to each tribe; but the Pontiffs, who were charged with the superintendence of all parts of the national religion, were only four in number besides the Chief Pontiff, that is, two for the Ramnes and two for the Titienses.‡ The Vestal Virgins were originally four; but Tarquinius, who admitted the Luceres to the Senate, added two to the number of the Vestals.§ It was a tradition of the Augurs, that each tribe ought to have its own Augur,|| and accordingly we find the appointment of three augurs ascribed to Romulus.¶ But in this account there appears to be an error; for though Numa was said to have added two to the number,\*\* who, of course, were the augurs of the Titienses, yet, at a later time, we find only four Augurs as four Pontiffs.†† The Fetiales, the guardians of international law, were twenty in number,‡‡ one for each Curia of the two elder Tribes; and of this

body four were sent as ambassadors when redress was sought for injuries; two, when a treaty was to be made.‡ In like manner there were two keepers of the Sibylline Books.† It is probable that the same principle determined the number of the Two Judges or Inquisitors of Crime.‡

But though these inequalities subsisted within the Patrician body, yet in relation to the Plebeians the whole body was a privileged class, whose internal distinctions vanished in comparison with the interval by which they were elevated above the inferior order. The Patricians were the rulers; the Plebeians were their subjects. The Senate, the Council of the nation, was composed of the representatives of the Patrician Gentes. The assembly of the Curiae, in which resided the supreme authority of the state, comprehended only the Patrician Householders. The constitutional laws, by which the authority of the Kings was limited, related only to Patrician citizens. There were no Magistrates beside the Kings, except the heads of the Patrician Tribes and Curiae and Decuries, and the Two Patrician Judges. The national religion was the exclusive inheritance of the Patricians; and religious observances were intimately blended with every part of the national polity. From the Patricians alone could Pontiffs and Priests be taken: and the ceremonies of Augury and Aruspicy, which were accounted necessary for the commencement of all public business, could be performed only by Patricians, and only for Patrician Magistrates. The national archives were in the keeping of the Patrician Pontiffs; and they were the authoritative expounders of the national law.

Under these circumstances we cannot be surprised to find that the Patrician Order was held to constitute the State. When in the records of the early ages we read of the sovereign assembly of the Roman People, we must place before our eyes, not a mixed multitude of all ranks, among whom the low and needy would exceed in number, for in the early ages no such promiscuous assembly had any legal existence; but the Patrician

\* Dion. vii. 47. Niebuhr has thrown very great light on the history of the first ages of the Republic, by pointing out and explaining a misapprehension which runs through the narratives both of Livy and Dionysius. The two historians speak repeatedly of the *Older* and *Younger* Fathers as distinct, and sometimes opposite, political parties in the Senate and the Republic. These statements may pass with a superficial reader, but they are embarrassing to an attentive inquirer. Now the terms *Major* and *Minor* were frequently used to denote degrees of age; and Niebuhr supposes, that when Dionysius and Livy, or their immediate predecessors, met in the old Annals with the terms *Patrum Majores*, and *Minores*, signifying the Fathers of the Major and the Minor Gentes, they misunderstood them as relating to age, and translated them accordingly into their own language. This interpretation we must apply to the terms *seniores* and *juniores* in Livy, and *πρεσβύτεροι* and *νεώτεροι* in Dionysius. This conjecture, which, when it is examined, carries with it the strongest internal evidence of its truth, was suggested by the passage of Cicero cited above (R. P. ii. 20.) See Niebuhr, vol. ii., pp. 112-114, and vol. i. note 1143. Niebuhr, at an earlier period in his researches, had observed the difficulty, but had given an erroneous solution of it. See vol. i., note 832, and compare the interpretation of Liv. ii. 54, there given with that in vol. ii., note 471.

† Niebuhr, vol. i. pp. 297, 298.

‡ Liv. x. 6. See Niebuhr, vol. i., note 775.

§ Dion. iii. 67. Festus. v. *Sex Vestæ Sacerdotes*.

|| Liv. x. 6.

¶ Cic. R. P. ii. 9.

\*\* ib. ii. 14.

†† Liv. x. 6. See Niebuhr.

‡‡ Varro in Niebuhr, vol. i., note 777.

\* See p. 16.

† Dion. ii. 62. See p. 25.

‡ These magistrates are first mentioned in the legend of Horatius, chap. i. p. 14. Liv. i. 26. A more particular account of their office will be given when we come to mention the law, by which it was preserved under the republic the same as it had existed under the Kings.

Householders convoked in their *Curiae*. It is of the utmost importance to a right understanding of the early history to bear in mind that the term *Populus* or *People* was originally applied to the Patrician Order only. Even for a long time after the Commonalty was formed into a distinct estate, with peculiar magistrates and legal meetings, the term *Populus* was not applied to the whole nation composed of the two Orders, but remained the exclusive appellation of the Patrician Estate. *Populus* and *Plebs* were opposed to each other; and to describe the whole nation, it was necessary to combine the two names: and this language continued to be used in legal and religious forms, even in the age of Cicero.\* The notion of supreme power in the State was connected with the term *Populus*: and when the Patrician Order had decreased in numbers and relative importance, and the sovereignty, which anciently pertained to the exclusive assembly of the *Curiae*, was transferred to the mixed assembly of the Centuries, the name *Populus* was applied to the whole body of the citizens in the *Comitia Centuriata*. *Populus* was used in this sense legally and technically, and continued to be opposed to *Plebs*, which was the appellation of the people assembled in the *Comitia Tributa*.† Finally, the assembly of the Tribes came to be called the *Populus*; but this was always a careless and improper use of the word, and never sanctioned by legal forms. But till the period when the constitutional changes took place, which gave rise to these changes in the use of the word, we may be assured that the term *Populus* was used in the law books, and other records whence the annalists drew their materials, to denote the Patrician Estate, and its meetings, the *Comitia Curiata*, and that it was so used by the earlier an-

nalists themselves. The more recent historians, when they found their authorities speaking of the *Populus*, as they did not attach a correct meaning to the word, frequently substituted what they supposed to be equivalent terms; but when the source of their error is once pointed out, it is not difficult to interpret their statements according to their true meaning.\*

The *Populus* had its common fund, which was called *Publicum*, and which was originally the treasury of the state. In the *Populus*, as constituting the state, resided likewise the property of the *Ager Publicus*, or Public Land. So much of the early Roman history is involved in the contests between the Patricians and Plebeians respecting the possession of the Public Lands, that it is necessary to set in a clear light the distinction between the private property of the original citizens and the public domain, and to explain the mode in which this domain was formed and augmented.

\* Livy's conceptions are vague, and his expressions inaccurate. Dionysius had more distinct notions, but they were false. His idea of a popular assembly is drawn from the extreme democracy of Athens, or from the legal mob of the Roman Forum in the last degenerate days of the Republic. He was prepossessed with the opinion that the *Comitia* necessarily included the whole free male population. With this erroneous hypothesis, he was perpetually embarrassed by the way in which the old Annals spoke of the Patrician *Populus*. But he was not content, like Livy, to be vague and inconsistent. His affectation of exactness and circumstantial detail has evidently led him in many places to falsify and garble his authorities. A notable example of this dishonesty occurs in his narrative of the first secession of the Plebeians. After the deliberation of the Senate about sending ambassadors to the seceders, he found mention of an Assembly of the *People*, in which the resolution was voted. This could be only the Patrician *Populus*; for, besides that they were the body whose consent was necessary, the main body of the Plebeians was on the *Mons Sacer*. But Dionysius, to get up such a democratical assembly as he thought requisite, describes the Consuls as sending messengers to require the presence of the scattered inhabitants of the country and of the colonies; and with these, and the aged fathers and the young children of the seceders, who were too feeble to accompany them, he manages to crowd the Forum (vi. 67). With such a gross fabrication before our eyes, we need not suffer ourselves to be misled by adhering to the letter of his statements, but may boldly endeavour to educe from his disguises the genuine records of the annals. Dion Cassius, as it appears both from the extracts which have been preserved from the earlier books of his Roman history, and from the abridgment of Zonaras, used the Greek term *δημος* exclusively for the *Populus*, the Patrician assembly of the *Curiae*, as long as they were the Sovereign assembly. Afterwards he applies it with equal strictness to the meeting of the Centuries. The Plebeians or Commonalty, and their assembly in the Forum, he calls *πληθος* or *δημος*. There is strong evidence that Dion Cassius compiled the early part of his history from the original annals, and that he imitated their exact phraseology. See Nieb. vol. ii. note 367.

\* Vestiges of this use are to be found in Livy. Thus Appian Claudius denies the right of a Tribune of the Commons to arrest a Patrician: non enim populi, sed plebis, eum magistratum esse (ii. 56.) Again, in lv. 51, a plebe consensu populi consilium negotium mandatur. The oracle of Marcius, which was promulgated during the second Punic war, speaks of the Prætor who shall administer sovereign law to the People and the Commonalty: qui jussu populo plebeique dabit summum (Liv. xxv. 12.) Cicero, in the beginning of his speech for Murena, mentions his prayer, ut ea res... populo plebeique Romanæ bene atque feliciter eveniret. The despatch of Lepidus (Cic. Epist. x. 35) is addressed senatui populo plebeique Romanæ. These passages, except the last, are cited by Niebuhr; and the subject is more fully illustrated by him, vol. i. pp. 417-420.

† See Aul. Gell. x. 20.



It is said that, in the beginning, the territory of the state was divided into portions, which corresponded to the division of the people into Tribes and Curiae. The first great division was into three regions, which belonged to the Ramnes, the Titienses, and the Luceres.\* We have explained above, how the determination of the two latter regions, and the recognition that property in them was held by the same tenure as in the region of the first tribe, was erroneously represented as a distribution of the public lands by the kings Numa Pompilius and Tullus Hostilius. These regions were again divided, and a separate lot assigned to each Curia;† and in these lots each of the original citizens had his portion, with the full rights of private property. The lot of each citizen consisted of two *jugera*.‡ A hundred of these portions constituted a century of land, which must be regarded as the lot of a Curia.§ Two *jugera* was the portion which the settlers received in the ancient Roman colonies, which were the miniature images of the Roman People.|| These small allotments were a testimony of the poverty of the early ages, and the primitive insignificance of the Roman People. A portion of the territory of the state, and probably a separate portion in each region, was set apart for the maintenance of the kings and the service of the gods: for the expenses of the public worship were defrayed from the produce of the royal domains.¶ Besides the lands thus appropriated, there remained a certain portion which was common land, the public property of the state, or of the whole body of citizens.\*\* The small private estates of the citizens could suffice only for tillage, and the growth of herbs and fruit. The common lands were originally left for pasture. This is manifest from the record that they continued to be called pastures (*pascua*) in public documents even in later times, when they had increased very greatly in extent, and were applied to other purposes.††

At the time when the citizens of Rome thus held their pasture lands in common, to eke out by the produce of their flocks and herds the scanty fruits of their little fields and gardens, the infant city was merely a rustic township or cluster of villages. But as it outgrew this condition, the public land assumed a new extent and character. It was to conquest that it owed its increase.\* The little states in the neighbourhood of Rome had their public land in like manner; and when the states were conquered, their public land was added to the domain of the conquerors. Indeed, the whole territory of a conquered people became the property of the conquerors; but in the early ages it was the policy of the Romans to receive the inhabitants of the conquered district as citizens of Rome. Their lands were then restored them by a formal act; so that thenceforward the right of property depended upon the assignment of the Roman state: and they were restored, subject to a tribute and to the obligation of military service. But even in these cases it appears that a portion of the territory was reserved for the Roman People. Sometimes a Colony was established in the conquered city; and then a portion of the territory (usually a third part) was assigned to the colonists, and formally divided amongst them, as the original territory of Rome had been divided to the citizens according to their Tribes and Curiae. It seems that, in this case, the rest of the conquered district was suffered to remain in the possession of the old proprietors, but no longer as their property. They held it only by a precarious tenure, always subject to the superior claim of the conquering people, and under the condition of paying a portion of the yearly produce as a quit rent to the Roman state. At a later period, when Rome had ceased to incorporate as citizens the people of a conquered district, the ancient possessors were frequently suffered to retain their lands upon this precarious tenure, where no colony was founded. In these ways the state acquired the right of property over extensive tracts of country; and it took a considerable portion into its own possession.

manner; and that when the populace under the demagogue Theagenes rose against the Aristocracy, they seized these public lands, and slaughtered the cattle which were the property of the nobles.

\* Liv. iv. 48; and Pomponius in Nieb. vol. ii, note 346.

\* Varro de LL. iv. 9. (v. p. 61, ed. Speng.)

† Dion. ii. 7.

‡ Two *jugera* were equivalent to 1½ English acres. Such a lot was called *Heredium*.

§ Nieb. vol. ii. p. 47, and pp. 155, 156. See Varro, R. R. i. 10; Plin. N. H. xviii. 2. Colum. v. i.

|| Nieb. vol. ii. p. 47. See Liv. viii. 21.

¶ Dion. ii. 7, iii. 1; and Cic. R. P. v. 2.

\*\* Dion. ii. 7.

†† Pliny, xviii. 3, in Nieb. vol. ii. p. 157. It appears from Aristot., Pol. v. 4, that the nobles of Megara held common pasture lands in a similar

Of this public land the best portions were assigned to colonists, as we have described above, or sold for the benefit of the public treasury.\* Some districts remained open, as in old times, for common pasture lands. But when cultivated lands had been wasted in war, and the State was desirous of restoring them to tillage, individuals were frequently allowed, and even invited, to take possession of them, and to cultivate them for their own benefit. No doubt, some formalities accompanied this concession, at least in old times; and some regulations must have been enforced, to prevent a mere scramble for the land; but we are not informed what they were. The distinction, however, which must be carefully remembered, is this: that it was only the *possession* and the *use*, which was thus conceded by the State, and not the right of property. Although possessions thus occupied in the Public Land were secured against the fraudulent or violent intrusion of individuals; although they were transmitted by inheritance, and enjoyed by successive generations, through a long series of years; although they were bequeathed by testament; although they could even be bought and sold, the right of property remained in the State, and was not impaired by any length of use on the part of the occupant. The possession thus secured, and inherited, and purchased, was only a tenure at will under the State. Even in these very points, in which it appears to resemble private property, it was most evidently distinguished from it. The land was not marked out by the same technical limitation; it was not bequeathed or conveyed with the same legal formalities; and it was protected from invasion, not by the common law of the State, but (that is, in later times) by the interdicts of the Prætor, a species of equitable jurisdiction which interfered for the protection of claims to which the law was not applicable. The right of property which remained in the State could be enforced at any time, and without any compensation to the actual occupant. Whether a conquered district had been suffered to remain in the possession of the old proprietors as tenants of the State, or whether it had been given up to the occupation of individual Roman citizens in the manner described, in either case the State retained in perpetuity the unim-

paired and paramount right of property.

It was mentioned above, that when a conquered territory was suffered to remain in the possession of the former proprietors, it was under the condition that a portion of the produce should be paid annually as a quit-rent. After the passing of the Licinian laws, the same payment was required from Roman citizens, who held possessions in the public domain. This payment was a tenth upon corn lands, and a fifth upon vineyards and other plantations. An agistment also was paid for cattle grazing on public pastures.\* The payment of this tithe was enforced by the Licinian laws; and it had not been paid during a long period which preceded that memorable legislation. In fact, there is no record that it had been paid since the establishment of the Republic. But there is strong reason to suspect that this exemption was the result of usurpation, and that, in earlier times, under the Kings, the payment of the tithe had been the condition of holding possessions in the Public Land. It can scarcely be conceived that the State should, at the beginning, have renounced all benefit from its property: and the great works executed under the later Kings, the Tarquins and Servius Tullius, must have required a revenue, for which there appears no other adequate source.† After the expulsion of the Kings, the Public Lands were in the hands of those who were the uncontrolled masters of the State, and who could relieve themselves from any obnoxious burden.

The *Ager Publicus*, or Public Land, was, as its name imports, the property of the *Populus*. Of course, so long as the Patricians alone constituted the People or State, the Patricians alone were the owners of the Public Domain. But the point to be carefully noted by the student of Roman history is this: that after the gradual rise of the Plebeian order of citizens, even when the Plebeians were the more numerous portion of the Citizens, and supplied the strength of the Roman armies, when their State was regularly organized, and was recognized as an element in the constitution of the Commonwealth, the Patrician *Populus* still maintained its exclusive claim to the property and use of the Public Lands. The Patricians

\* Appian, De Bell. Civ. i. 7.

† Nieb. vol. ii. p. 160.

\* Liv. iv. 48. Appian, De Bell. Civil. i. 7.



alone participated in the common use of them; and Patricians alone were permitted to occupy portions of them for their private benefit.\* Even though the conquered territories were gained by the blood of the Plebeian legionaries, the Plebeian citizens not only could claim no right to a share in the fruit of their victories, but were not allowed to enjoy it as a matter of grace or favour. The alienation of a part of the public domain, and the assignment of it in portions in full property to individual Plebeian citizens, is, as we shall see, one of the righteous acts ascribed to Servius Tullius. But for many years after his death, the exclusive claim of the Patricians was jealously vindicated; and when the remonstrances of the Plebeians at length began to extort from them some concessions, they merely sought to elude their just demands, and appease them for a season, by scanty and partial distributions in poor and exposed districts. The Plebeians were not admitted to a participation in the use of the domain, nor was any limit set to the occupation of individual Patricians, till the legislation of Licinius, A. U. C. 389, B. C. 364.

In judging, however, of the conduct of the Patricians, in resisting the pretensions of the Plebeians, it must be remembered that the lots which the Patricians held as private property in the original *Ager Romanus* were exceedingly small; and the facility of occupying land in the public domain had left them little or no inducement to add to their private estates by purchase. Consequently, the private property in land, with the exception of the small district immediately about the city, was almost entirely in the hands of the Plebeians.† Hence any general distribution of the Public Land would have been unjust, which did not respect possession to a certain extent, or which was not restricted to the land acquired by the State after a certain period.

Though the Plebeians were excluded from the public domain, the Clients shared in the possession of it with their Patrons. Of course, the Clients did not enjoy it in their own right; but as the Patricians held by concession from the

State, so the Clients held by concession from their Patrons; and as the possessions of the Patricians could be resumed at the pleasure of the State, so the possessions of the Clients could be resumed at the pleasure of their Patrons. The granting of land by the Patrons to their Clients has been noticed above. As the lots which the Patricians held as private property were too small to be so disposed of, it was only from possessions in the public domain that such grants could be made. As long as the Patrician possessions paid the tithe to the Commonwealth, we may be sure that they required a portion of the produce from their Clients; and from what we know of similar tenures, it is probable that this portion was always a large one, even when they themselves had ceased to pay anything. It cannot be doubted that in old times the number of slaves was not great. Until Rome attained to commerce and wealth, there could be few slaves but Italian prisoners of war. It was necessary, therefore, for the cultivation of the land, to assign it to Clients. As long as the Clients served to strengthen the Patricians against the Plebeians, every Patrician would seek to surround himself with numerous Client tenants. But when the contests of the orders ceased, the desire of gain led the possessors of the Public Lands to take them into their own hands, and to cultivate them by means of slaves; so that it became necessary to enact by law, that a number of free labourers should be maintained upon the land, proportionate to its extent.\*

According to an ancient gloss,† the citizens of the higher order were entitled *Patres* or Fathers, because they bestowed portions of land on the poorer citizens, in the same manner as on their own children. Whatever may be thought of this explanation, it is necessary, to the right understanding of the Roman history, to bear in mind, that anciently the term *Patres* was applied to all the members of the Patrician body, and not merely to the Senate. In later times, it was the peculiar title of the Senators; and hence it has happened that Diony-

\* The following passages will afford ample proof, if it be needed, that the occupation of the Public Land was confined to the Patricians, and that they occupied it at their pleasure. Liv. ii. 41, vi. 5, 14, 37. Dion. viii. 70, x. 37.

† See Liv. iv. 48.

\* Appian, De Bell. Civil. i. 7. An accurate account of the public land, and of all that appertains to it, is contained in Niebuhr, vol. ii. pp. 124—164, in the sections bearing the titles, 'Of the Public Land and its Occupation,' and 'the Assignments of Land before the time of Sp. Cassius.' The preceding statements are borrowed and abridged from it.

† Festus, v. *Patres*.

sus very frequently, and Livy occasionally, interpreting the language of the Annalists by the usage of their own age, have misunderstood them, and have spoken of the Senate, where their authorities spoke of the whole Patrician order. Livy, however, in his first decad, after he had passed the first book, had become accustomed to the ancient use of the word, and uses it himself in its ancient sense.\*

After having thus examined the condition of the Patricians and the Clients, it remains for us to investigate the origin of the intermediate order, the *Plebs* or Commonalty. The Plebeians were free citizens, not members of the Patrician *Gentes*,† and, consequently, not forming a part of the *Populus*; yet not hereditary Clients, nor compelled by personal necessity to attach themselves to a Patron. They were subjects of the State, that is, of the whole body of the Patrician people; but they were not subject individually to individual Patrons. They were politically subject, but personally independent. Such an intermediate order must arise, almost inevitably, wherever political power is confined to an aristocracy of birth. We have seen that the Patrician Houses, after their first formation, were strictly hereditary. It was possible for the State by a public act to incorporate with itself an entire Tribe or House. Thus the third Tribe was associated with the two elder Tribes; which, as we have explained, is the fact represented in the traditions as the admission of the Alban Houses to the Patriciate. In the beginning of the Republic the whole Sabine House of the Claudii transferred itself to Rome, and was enrolled among the Roman Houses. But we have no account of any process by which an individual could gain a place in the exclusive ruling order. If, therefore, there were any way in which free citizens could spring up, who should not be under the bond of Clientship, a commonalty, such as we have described, would begin to be formed. In one way they might take their origin from the Clients. If a Patrician family became extinct, as several would become in the course of no very long time, we are not informed that any provision was made for the transfer of the Clients to any

other Patron. But even supposing, which is not at all improbable, that the allegiance of the Clients was transferred to the House in its corporate capacity, or to individual members of the House; at all events, if the House itself became extinct, the Clients would be left without a Patron, and would emerge as independent citizens. Again, we have seen within what narrow limits the right of marriage was confined among the Patricians. But it is not necessary to conclude that no marriages were contracted by the Patricians except those which conveyed to their children the privileges of their order. There might be marriages of disparagement, the offspring of which would be Plebeian: and it is the observation of Savigny and Niebuhr, that, when in the early history we meet with Plebeian families of rank and influence bearing the same name as Patrician Houses, we may conclude that they have sprung from such unequal marriages\*. In like manner, the children of Patrician fathers, not born in marriage, would probably escape the degradation of Clientship, and become free citizens. It is possible that individual landholders of bordering tribes may have withdrawn themselves, like the entire Claudian House, from their own State, and have sought the protection of the Roman people; and that they may not have felt any necessity of placing themselves in dependence upon an individual Patron. In this manner a commonalty might gradually arise and grow; and it is plain that the more its numbers increased, the more likely it was to receive fresh accessions. But it grew in numbers and in importance chiefly by the admission of the inhabitants of conquered districts to the rights of citizens. If the claims of conquest had been strictly enforced according to the Italian laws of war, the whole of every conquered territory would have become the property of the Roman State; and it might have been held in common, or the possession of it might have been conceded to individual members of the *Populus*. Even if any of the original owners had been suffered to remain in occupation, they would, in the one case, have become tenants and vassals of the State; in the other, they would have been reduced to the condition of prædial Clients or Serfs. But

\* He frequently opposes the *Patres* to the *Plebs*. Thus, to give one example out of many, in vi. 37, "ut pars ex *plebe*, pars ex *Patribus* fiat." See Nieb. vol. i. p. 322, and vol. ii. pp. 178, 223.

† *Plebes alicuius in qua gentes civium patricie non insunt.* A. Geil. x. 20.

\* Nieb. vol. i. p. 317.



the policy of Rome in its earlier ages was, as we have explained above, of a more liberal and a wiser character. A portion of the conquered lands was reserved as the property of the Roman people, apparently a third part: but the remainder was usually restored to the original owners, and formally assigned to them in full property by the Sovereign authority of the State. It was subject indeed to a tribute; but this tribute did not affect the integrity of the right of property, and is not to be confounded with a quit rent. The landowners became citizens of Rome, excluded, of course, from the privileges of the ruling order, but subject only to the State. It appears that they were under the peculiar jurisdiction of the Kings;\* and it is possible that the King, as the head of the state, may have been considered as their common Patron.†

There are traces of this large and prudent policy in the traditions of the conquests of Romulus over Cænina, Antemnæ, Crustumium, and Cameria.‡ But, as we have already shown, the Commonalty received its first great increase from the conquest of Ancus Marcius over the Latins. From that period it becomes an important element in the Commonwealth. In the following reign it seems that the noblest members of it were admitted to some share in the privileges of the Patriciate; and in the reign of Servius Tullius the Plebeian body received an independent organization, and became a constituent part of the great national assembly, and the basis of the military force of the Roman State.

The origin and nature of the Plebeian estate at Rome may be illustrated by a comparison with the political system of several Grecian states. We have shown above, in speculating on the origin of the Clientship, that where a ruling tribe had established itself by conquest or forcible settlement, a class of the old inhabitants was frequently found reduced to a state of bondage. But when the old inhabitants of a country were too numerous and too powerful to be thus degraded, they were left in possession of personal liberty and of property, but were excluded from participation in the political sovereignty which became the privilege of the conquerors. Thus in Lacedæmon the sovereignty was vested

entirely in the Spartans, who were the descendants of the Dorian conquerors. The Helots were their bondmen. But the great bulk of the ancient Achæan population remained, under the denomination of *Perioeci* (Dwellers round about), inhabiting the country towns, personally free, holding property in land protected by the law, and trusted with arms and even with subordinate military command, but excluded from all share in the government. The aristocracy of Sparta was rigidly maintained: and the exclusion of the Lacedæmonian *Perioeci* was entire and perpetual.\* In like manner the other Dorian states in the Peloponnesus had their *Perioeci*; but in most of them they were gradually admitted to a share in the privileges of their Dorian rulers. It was the necessity of restoring the number of the citizens of Argos by the admission of the *Perioeci* from the country towns, which changed the constitution of that State from an aristocracy to a democracy.† A similar distinction existed between the Dorian settlers in Crete and the old inhabitants of the island.‡ The point in which the Roman Plebeians seem to have been placed more nearly on a common footing with the Patricians than the *Perioeci* in the Grecian States with their several ruling tribes, is this: that they were suffered to be inhabitants of the same city, while the *Perioeci*, as their name imports, were excluded from the chief city, and confined to the country towns. The *Perioeci* had no point of union, where the strength of their body could be brought to bear on the ruling class. The Plebeians possessed this advantage; and when once, in consequence of this, they obtained a place in the public assembly, their gradual attainment of a political equality became almost certain.

We have already observed, that, while the Patricians held possessions by sufferance in the Public Domain, the private property in land (with the exception of the small district which comprised the regions of the three Patrician tribes) belonged almost exclusively to the Plebeians. To them alone

\* See Isocr. Panathen. p. 365 ed. Bek. Müll. Dor. B. iii. ch. 2.

† See note, p. 91. The confusion between the *Perioeci* and *Gymnesii* there mentioned is a parallel to the confusion between the Plebeians and Clients at Rome.

‡ Aristot. Pol. ii. 7.

\* See Nieb. vol. i. p. 338.

† Nieb. vol. i. p. 405.

‡ pp. 9, 10.

had any portion of the conquered territories been sold or assigned by public authority.\* On the other hand, property in land distinguished the Plebeians from the Clients. The Clients received precarious grants from the possessions of their Patrons in the Public Domain, but it is not probable that, in the earlier ages, they were capable of acquiring property in land in their own persons. But the more important form of the distinction was this: that the Clients exercised all trades and mechanical arts, which were strictly forbidden to the free and independent citizen.† Agriculture was the only lawful employment of the Plebeian citizen; and therefore the Plebeian who did not hold property in land, though he might not be compelled to attach himself to a Patron, in all his political rights was reduced to a level with the Clients, as we shall see hereafter.

It is astonishing, that the false conception of Dionysius and Plutarch, that the Plebeians were the same body as the Clients, should have been taken up so lightly as it has been by writers on Roman history; and that they should not have perceived the absurdities and inconsistencies in which it is involved. On the one hand, we find the Client enjoying his civil rights only through the intervention of his Patron, and so entirely subject to him, that the laws of the State do not interfere with this relation; the Patron is bound, under the most solemn religious sanction, to deal righteously by his Client; and the tradition is strong of the mutual good will which existed between the protectors and their dependents. On the other hand, we find the Roman history, after the very earliest age, made up, for a considerable period, of struggles between the Patricians and the Plebeians, and these contests pushed to every extremity short of civil war. On two occasions, the Plebeians actually seceded from the city, and threatened to become

the founders of a new State. The conflict is not sudden and transitory; but is maintained from generation to generation with unmitigated jealousy. If we descend into particulars, we find the Patron especially charged with the care of the pecuniary interests of his Client, and his money engagements; and the Client capable of suing and being sued only in the person of his Patron.\* On the other hand, the contests between the Patricians and the Plebeians begin with the grievances of the Plebeian debtors, and the cruelty of the Patrician creditors, to whom their persons are pledged in default of payment, and who thus reduce them into slavery. If the Plebeians had been Clients, they would not have stood in need of their inviolable Tribunes, to protect them from the arbitrary exercise of the Patrician power: the protector of each would have been his own Patron.

Livy, by making his history almost entirely narration without disquisition, has avoided the formal mis-statement of Dionysius; and, in several passages, an incidental mention of the Plebeians and the Clients occurs, in which they are manifestly distinguished. Thus, in one place, he has described the Plebeians as withdrawing from the Consular Comitia, and leaving the Consuls to be created by the Patricians and their Clients.† In another passage he distinctly asserts that the Clients were not included in the *Comitia Tributa*, in which the Plebeians were convened according to their local tribes.‡ Dionysius himself, notwithstanding his own false hypothesis, has, in the course of his history, repeated accounts from the Annalists, in which the plebeians and the Clients are expressly opposed to each other. Thus, in the secession of the Commonalty, and on other occasions when they refused to be enrolled in the legions, he speaks of the Patricians arming their Clients in their place.§ These passages prove the reality of the distinction for which we are contending; and they show, moreover, that the Plebeian Estate did not grow out of the clientry in the manner supposed by Vico, so

\* Liv. iv. 49.

† Dion. ix. 35, speaks of the resident aliens, who exercised the mechanical arts, "for no Roman was allowed to maintain himself by trade or handicraft." If this prohibition be understood of the whole native population, the assertion is manifestly absurd. It relates to the members of the Plebeian local tribes. Niebuhr has observed that this account is at variance with the earlier statement of Dionysius, that Romulus assigned as the business of the citizens who were not Patrician, "agriculture and pasturage and the exercise of the money-making arts." (Dion. ii. 9.) But this statement is in his formal account of the original polity of Rome, in which he confounds the Plebeians with the Clients. (Nieb. vol. i. p. 578.)

\* Dion. ii. 10. ἐπιμελίσθαι . . . εἰς χερμάτων τε καὶ τῶν περὶ χεῖματα συμβολαίων λόγον δίκας τε ὑπὲρ τῶν πελατῶν . . . τοῖς ἑγκυλοῦσιν ὑπέχων.

† Liv. ii. 64.

‡ Liv. ii. 56. See also ii. 35; iii. 14.

§ Dion. vi. 47, 63; vii. 19; x. 15, 27, 43. See also vii. 18; ix. 41; x. 40, 41. These, and the passages from Livy, are cited by Nieb. vol. i. pp. 579-581.



that the Plebeians did not become a recognized element in the Commonwealth until the ancient bonds of Clientship were obsolete; for we see that the two bodies are represented as existing in full strength at the same time.

The internal organization of the Commonalty does not fall within this period of our history; but is reserved until we arrive at the legislation of Servius Tullius.

After this account of the different orders of the nation, and of the internal constitution of the Patrician Estate, in which the supreme legislative power was vested, and the heads of which, assembled in the Senate, were the counsellors of the people, it remains only to say a few words respecting the Kings, in whose hands the executive power was placed.

The Kingly office at Rome was elective. When the throne was vacant, the Senate deliberated by whom it was to be filled; and the person approved by them was nominated by the Interrex to the Patrician people assembled in their Curiae, who possessed the right of accepting or rejecting him. Even when the proposed King was accepted by the people, it appears by the distinct statements of Cicero, that it was necessary for the new Sovereign himself to propose to the Curiae, the law which invested him with the powers of his office.\* It is possible, that Cicero was misled by the law books from which he borrowed these statements; and that the authors of them conceived that this twofold process was necessary to the Curiae, merely because, in after times, the Consuls who were elected in the *Comitia Centuriata* were obliged to receive the *Imperium* from the *Comitia Curiata*. This revision of the election (*Reprehensio Comitiorum*) may have arisen from Patrician jealousy of the more popular assembly, and have been unknown when the choice depended only on the aristocracy; but it is hazardous to oppose this conjecture to statements so distinct and positive.† To the King thus elected, belonged the right of convoking the Senate and the People, and of proposing to them laws and questions of war and peace. War could be declared only by the authority of the Senate, and the vote of the People; but in war, the King became the absolute commander of the army. Within the

city he was the expounder and administrator of the law.\* The offences of members of the Patrician order were investigated by means of the Two Judges or Inquisitors of Crime, whose appointment is recorded in the guise of an historical fact in the legend of Horatius. From their sentence, the Patrician criminal had a right of appeal to the people, that is to the Patrician *Populus* assembled in the Curiae. This right is commemorated in the same legend;† and it could be exercised even from the sentence of the King himself.‡ That this right of appeal belonged only to the Patricians, is evident from the fact, that the right of appeal was first extended to all Roman citizens by the law of Valerius after the expulsion of the Kings. The King was the sole judge in civil causes:§ nor does it appear that, in this case, any appeal lay from his decision. Over the Plebeian citizens, his power must have been supreme, both as a civil and a criminal judge.|| It must be remembered also, that even the Patrician right of appeal extended no farther than a mile from the city, as in after times. Beyond this limit, the military *Imperium* comprehended unlimited power in every case.¶ In religious matters, the king did not possess the supreme authority. This appears to have been vested in the Pontiffs. And, as the King was not an augur, the national faith in omens made the augurs independent of him. Nevertheless, the king enjoyed a high religious dignity; and there were national sacrifices, which could be offered only by him, and for the due performance of which, the regal title was attached to a priestly office under the Republic.\*\* It was recorded that, in old times, the Kings discharged the functions which afterwards pertained to the Flamen of Jupiter.†† The ensigns of royalty have been described above; and we have mentioned the discrepancy of the traditions as to the King by whom they were first assumed.‡‡ A large domain was assigned for the maintenance of the Kings, which was cultivated by the royal Clients, that no private cares might withdraw their attention from the business of the Commonwealth.§§

\* Cic. R. P. v. 2.

† Liv. i. 26.

‡ Cic. R. p. ii. 31, on the authority of the Pontifical and Augural books.

§ Cic. R. P. v. 2.

¶ Compare Dion. iv. 25.

|| Liv. iii. 20; Nieb. vol. i. p. 523, and note 1180.

\*\* See p. 27, on the Rex, Sacrificus.

†† Liv. i. 20.

‡‡ See pp. 18 and 35.

§§ Cic. R. P. v. 2. Dion. iii. 1. See above, p. 153.

\* See above p. 137.

† Compare the formalities of the election of Censors, mentioned in p. 138.

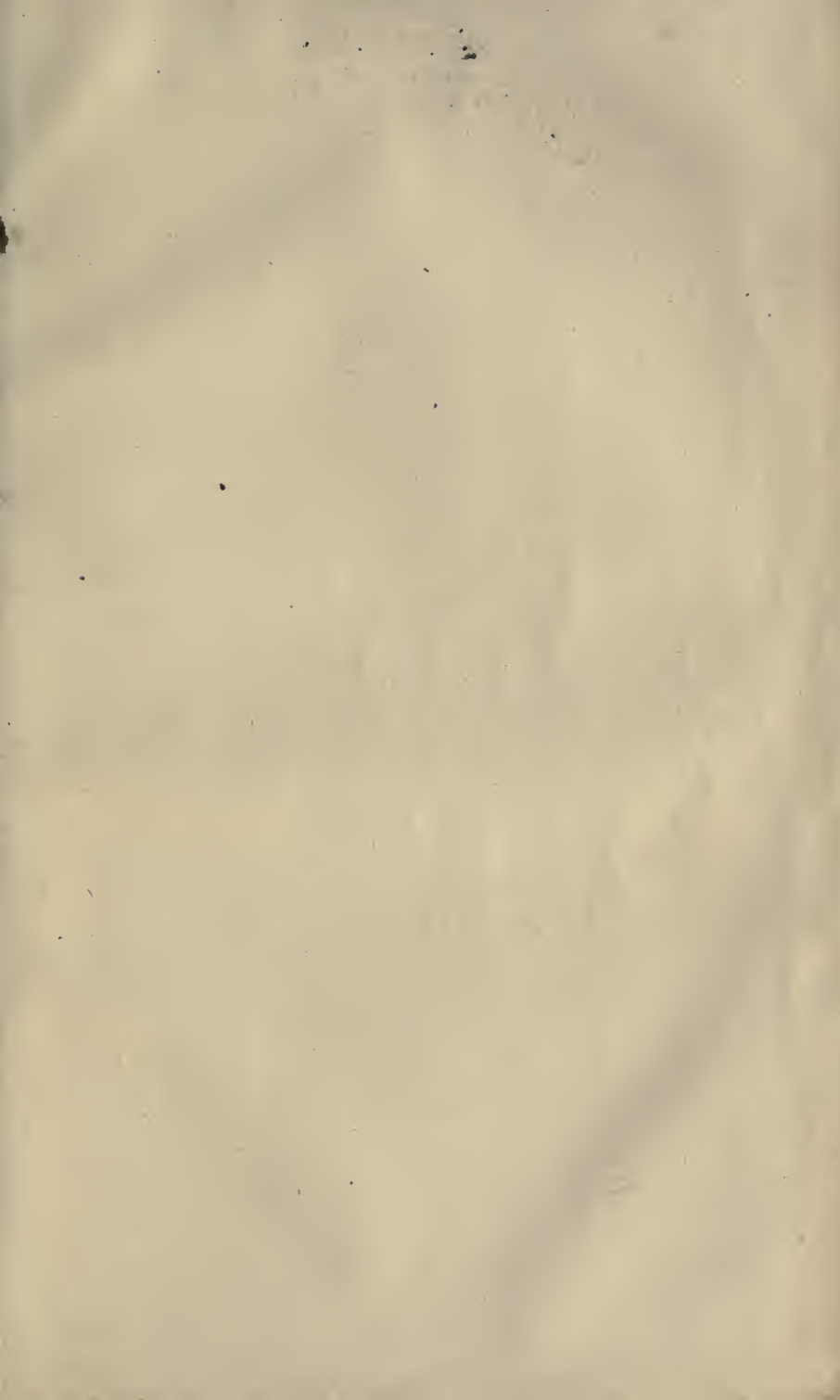
We have thus examined thoroughly the records which remain of the primitive constitution of Rome, and of the distinction of orders upon which it was founded. We have endeavoured to exhibit briefly, but clearly, the theory of the constitution which has been propounded by Niebuhr; and we have illustrated it by such arguments as did not involve disquisitions too minute or too excursive for a work of this nature. It may appear strange to our readers, that, while we attach so little credit to the traditionary stories of the early history, we venture to trace, with something like assurance, the lineaments of the constitution of Rome in its earliest age. But it must be remembered, that the forms of society and political institutions have a much more durable existence than persons or events. They endure through many generations; and their changes are generally gradual and slow. They may be recognized under altered features; and even when they seem to pass away, they often leave some image of themselves behind, or impress some vestige of their shape upon the institutions by which they are succeeded. Thus, not only was the continued existence of the Roman Senate, with no tradition of its origin, except the legends which told of the origin of the city itself, a visible argument that it had really existed from the very earliest times; but the shadowy *Comitia*, which, for the sake of certain religious solemnities, were represented by the attendance of thirty lictors, were a memorial of the age when the assembly of the Thirty *Curiae* held the sovereign power of the state. If tradition had been more treacherous than it really was, and if all memory of the kingly government of Rome had utterly perished, yet the title and honours of the Sacrificial King to an historical inquirer, guided by the analogy of the King Archon at Athens, and the institutions of Cyrene and Priene,\* would have been a sufficient argument, that Rome also had anciently been governed by kings. Moreover, in the early ages, religious observances were interwoven with all civil institutions; and the establishment of the College of Pontiffs was a provision for the preservation and transmission both of ceremonial and constitutional law. No interest was affected by the truth or false-

hood of the legends of kings and heroes; and they were suffered to assume whatever shape the imagination of the people gave them. But the religious and political institutes of the nation were matters of deep importance and the objects of superstitious reverence; and it was the special office of the Pontiffs to preserve them from oblivion, and guard them from corruption. It may be supposed, that in the struggles of the Orders there was a temptation to these depositaries of the national laws to magnify the ancient supremacy of the Patrician aristocracy. To a certain extent this may be granted; but as the contest on the part of the Patricians, after the first few years of the Republic, was generally defensive, and as they were for the most part engaged, not in encroaching upon Plebeian rights, but in resisting Plebeian claims, the policy of the Pontiffs would be, not to falsify the ancient laws and customs of the nation, but to endeavour to maintain them in their primitive rigour. It is probable, that the traditions of the Pontiffs were committed to writing at a comparatively early period; and though the most ancient religious books might have perished, the substance of them was preserved in subsequent collections.\* The earlier Annalists must have possessed ample materials for a history of the constitution; but, unfortunately, they conceived that the province of history was confined to mere narration. The investigation of constitutional law was left to legal antiquaries; and their works have not descended to us. Even the later historians must have had access to copious sources of knowledge on this most interesting subject; but Livy loved narrative; and Dionysius, who was more inclined to disquisition, was intellectually and morally unfit for the task. Nevertheless, much information has been preserved, directly or incidentally, by these two historians, which they have drawn from the Annalists, and which they derived from the pontifical books or other trustworthy sources. To these scattered fragments of ancient records we attach a credit, which we refuse to traditionary tales; and we give the more belief, the more clearly any expression, which is pregnant with meaning, appears not to have proceeded from the historians themselves, but to have been copied from more ancient authority.

\* Herod. iv. 161. Strabo, viii. 7.2.

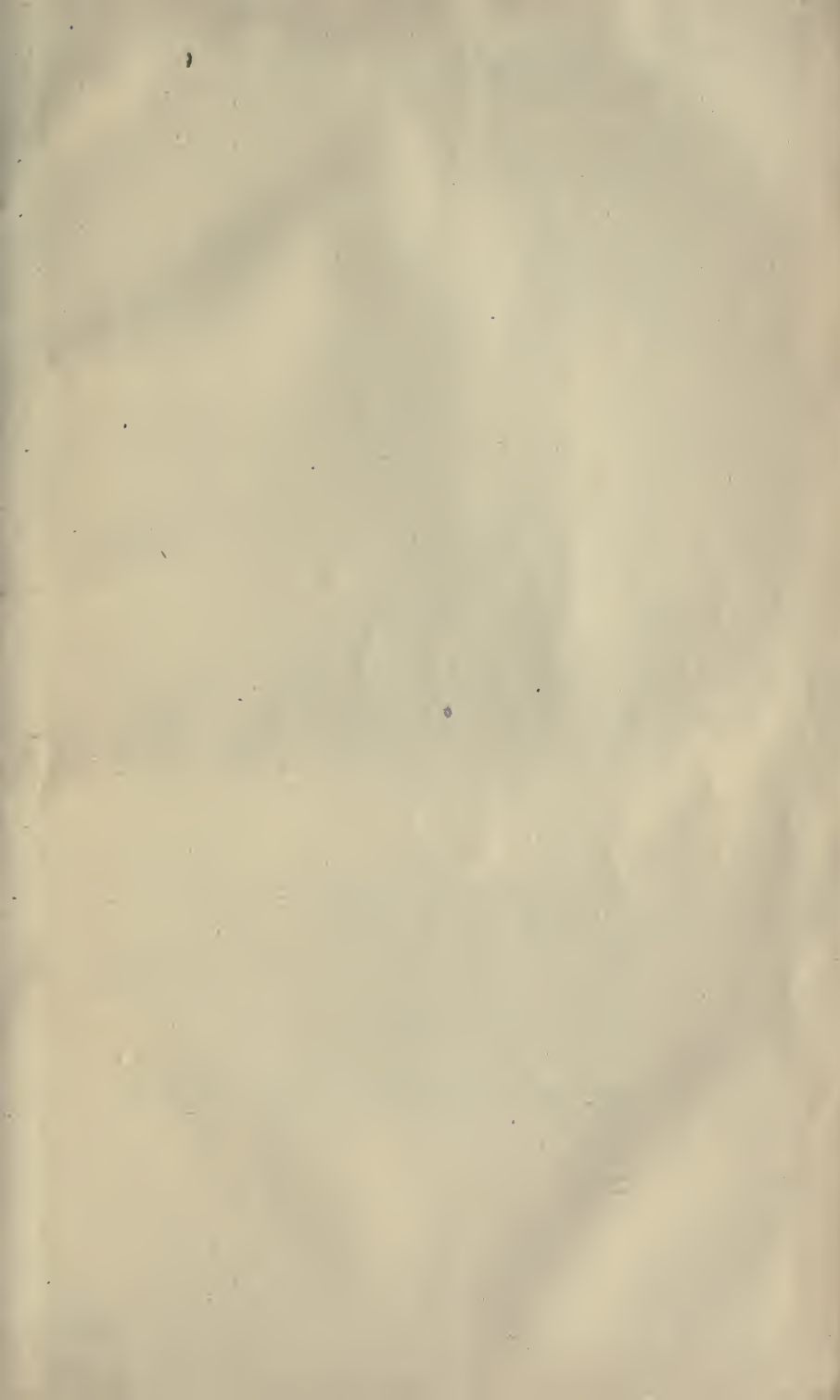
\* See chap. ii. § 6, pp. 40, 50; and § 9, pp. 60, 61.











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